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A HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY

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FARNAM PROFESSOR OF AMERICAN HISTORY IN YALE UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE.

THE writer who deals with the history of England in the compass of a few hundred pages, and tells the story as it ought to be told, is confronted with many perplexing problems. His subject covers fifteen centuries of time, from the primitive conditions of tribal days to the highly developed and complicated civilization of the twentieth century. It includes not only the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, but also the Indian Empire and the dominions beyond the seas — dependencies and self-governing colonies. It embraces manifold activities, — political, constitutional, religious, social, and economic, — difficult to weave into a well-proportioned and continuous pattern that will picture correctly the life, character, and progress of the English people. The achievements of this people have been solid and enduring, not dramatic and sensational, and have concerned the more peaceful aspects of human existence — government, legislation, agriculture, industry, commerce, and finance — quite as much as the stirring scenes of land battles and sea fights.

History to-day is not expected to allure the student by tales of conflict, glitter of courts, gossip of diplomats, and adventures of heroes. It has got rid of much of the stage thunder that passed current for history in older narratives, and shows that the true progress of a nation is not to be found in the glamour of a Hundred Years' War, the sham of a Field of the Cloth of Gold, or the rivalries of court favorites and corrupt party leaders. It points to the industry that underlies wealth, and to the wealth that makes military success possible. It lays stress upon the national or social conditions that render

the great statute or legislative act necessary, and upon the pressure of food or population and the spurring of religious conviction that urge men to brave the sea and undertake colonization. It calls attention to the deep significance of peasants' rebellions, religious revivals, and industrial revolutions in preparing the way for the rise of democracy and the transformation of the social life of a nation. It proves that the private extravagances of kings and the corruption of men in office are not typical of the moral standards of an age; and it encourages confidence in the sobriety and sanity of those who make up the mass of a nation.

From this point of view my book has been written. It traces through a long period of time the career of a people, the greater part of whose history is our history and whose early struggle to win constitutional liberty is our heritage as well as theirs. It purposes to show, indirectly, that the ideas and institutions brought by the early settlers to America were the result of centuries of growth and experience on English soil, and that the "liberties of Englishmen" was no meaningless phrase on the lips of those in England and America who opposed the Stuarts in the seventeenth century. It follows the later history of the English government and people and treats of a great era of expansion and political and social transformation that is no less instructive to the students of American history than is the period that has gone before.

This book is designed as a text-book for American schools and colleges. If there be a form of historical writing supposedly peculiar to text-books, I have made no effort to find it or to use it. To tell the story simply and clearly, leaving out nothing that ought to be known and including nothing that seemed to be unnecessary, has been my aim throughout. Furthermore, I have had constantly in mind matters of proportion, perspective, and the proper arrangement of material, and have endeavored to make a narrative that would stand the test of scholarship. Above all have I attempted to make

a book that would be interesting as well as instructive, teachable as well as scholarly; that would encourage the teacher to take a large and independent view of the subject, and the pupil to realize that there are in history a meaning and a purpose that are worth searching for and finding out. Even a little thought expended on the study of the growth of a people, their ideas, institutions, and life, is more profitable than any amount of so-called knowledge acquired from memorizing lessons and answering questions that have been cut and dried beforehand.

The apparatus of this book consists of a large number of maps and genealogical tables, a carefully selected list of books that would be useful in any school library, a detailed chronological table, footnote references to source books, and bibliographies of the best and most recent works of an authoritative character treating of periods or aspects of English history. The references to source books are designed to call the attention of the teacher systematically, and at the proper place in the narrative, to such original documents as have been made available in print. The use of these references must depend very largely upon the time and inclination of the teacher; but I believe that if but one small book — such, for example, as Miss Kendall's excellent collection — be at the teacher's disposal, it will be found convenient to know at the proper places in the narrative what documents are contained in it. I hope that these references may encourage a wider use of original sources to illustrate the text. The bibliographies and footnotes are intended for the teacher's interest, and not for the pupil's. The footnotes are designed to call attention to critical questions and problems in English history; the bibliographies, to furnish a comprehensive list of the best books, with a brief commentary. It is no small part of the education of a teacher — whether he be the writer or the user of a text-book — to know what is the best that has been written upon a certain subject, even though there be neither time nor opportunity to read it.

For aid unstintedly given, I wish to thank my former student, Miss N. Neilson, of Mt. Holyoke College, who has placed her experience as a teacher and her knowledge as a student of English history freely at my disposal.

For services efficiently rendered in the preparation of manuscript and the reading of proof I owe a lasting debt to my wife, which I can repay but scantily in a grateful and loving acknowledgment.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

AUGUST, 1903.

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I. COLLECTIONS OF SOURCES.

JOHNSTON, *English Historical Reprints*, I, II. Sheehan & Co., Ann Arbor, 1896 $0.25

COLBY, *Selections from the Sources of English History*. Longmans, 1899 1.50

LEE, *Source Book of English History*. Holt, 1900 2.00

ADAMS AND STEPHENS, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*. Macmillan, 1901 2.25

TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS, *from the Original Sources of European History*. Longmans, Original Series. Each number, 0.10–0.25

KENDALL, *Source Book of English History*. Macmillan, 1900 . 0.80

HILL, *Liberty Documents*. Longmans, 1901 2.00

HART, *American History told by Contemporaries*. 4 vols. Macmillan, 1897–1901 8.00

HENDERSON, *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. Macmillan, 1892 1.60

HENDERSON, *Side Lights on English History*. Holt, 1900 . . 5.00

ENGLISH HISTORY ILLUSTRATED FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES, edited by Warner; published by A. & C. Black, London. Each vol. . 0.75

Vol. I, 1216–1307, by Frazer.
Vol. II, 1307–1399, *Id.*
Vol. III, 1399–1485, by Durham.
Vol. IV, 1485–1603, by Frazer.
Vol. V, 1603–1660, by Weaver.
Vol. VI, 1660–1715, by Figgis.
Additional volumes to be announced later.

ENGLISH HISTORY FROM CONTEMPORARY WRITERS, edited by Powell, published by Nutt, London.

1. *Edward III and his Wars*, 1327–1360, by Ashley . . 1/6
2. *The Misrule of Henry III*, 1236–1251, by Hutton . . 1/6
3. *Strongbow's Conquest of Ireland*, by Barnard . . . 1/6
4. *Simon of Montfort and his Cause*, 1251–1265, by Hutton . 1/6
5. *The Crusade of Richard I*, by Archer 2/6
6. *England under Charles II from 1660 to 1678*, by Taylor . 1/6
7. *The Wars of the Roses*, by Thompson 2/
8. *The Jews of Angevin England*, by Jacobs . . 258 262

SCOTTISH HISTORY FROM CONTEMPORARY WRITERS, edited
Powell, imported by the New Amsterdam Book Co., New Yo

1. *The Days of James IV*, 1488–1513, by Smith . . . $0.75
2. *Mary Queen of Scots*, 1542–1587, by Rait 1.25
3. *The Rising of 1745*, 1689–1788, by Terry 1.25
4. *The Chevalier St. George and the Jacobite Movements in his Favour*, 1701–1720, by Terry 1.75

II. COLLECTIONS OF SOURCES FOR ADVANCED PUPILS.

STUBBS, *Select Charters*. Macmillan $2.10

GEE AND HARDY, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*. Macmillan 2.60

PROTHERO, *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents*, 1558–1625. Macmillan 2.75

GARDINER, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, 1625–1660. Second edition, enlarged, 1899. Macmillan . 2.50

ROBERTSON, *Select Statutes, Cases, and Documents, to illustrate English Constitutional History, 1660–1832, with a Supplement from 1832 to 1894*. Putnam, 1904 3.00

MACDONALD, *Select Charters and Other Documents Illustrative of American History*. Macmillan, 1899 2.25

MACDONALD, *Select Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States*. Macmillan, 1898 2.25

MACDONALD, *Select Statutes of United States History*, 1861–1898. Macmillan, 1903 2.25

BOOKS REFERRED TO BY ABBREVIATED TITLES IN FOOTNOTES.

Adams and Stephens = *Select Documents of English Constitutional History.*

A. H. R. = *American Historical Review.*

Capes = *A History of the English Church*, Vol. III.

Colby = *Selections from the Sources of English History.*

Durham = *English History Illustrated from Original Sources*, 1399–1485.

E. H. R. = *English Historical Review.*

Figgis = *English History illustrated from Original Sources*, 1660–1715.

Frazer = *English History illustrated from Original Sources*, 1307–1399.

Gairdner = *A History of the English Church*, Vol. IV.

Gardiner, *Documents* = *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution.*

Gardiner, *History* = *History of England*, 1603–1642.

Gee and Hardy = *Documents Illustrative of English Church History.*

Hart, *Contemporaries* = *American History told by Contemporaries.*

Henderson, *Documents* = *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages.*

Henderson, *Side Lights* = *Side Lights on English History.*

Hunt = *A History of the English Church*, Vol. I.

Kendall = *Source Book of English History.*

Lee = *Source Book of English History.*

MacDonald = *Select Charters and Other Documents Illustrative of American History*, 1606–1775.

Prothero = *Select Statutes and other Constitutional Documents*, 1558–1625.

Translations and Reprints = *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History.*

Warner, *Landmarks* = *Landmarks of English Industrial History.*

S. P. C. K. = Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CONQUEST.

1. **The Position of the British Isles** has had an important influence upon the English people. The narrow strait which separates them from the Continent has often saved them from foreign invasion and from entanglement in Continental affairs. On the other hand, their nearness to the Continent has always enabled them to keep in close touch with the civilization of European countries.

2. **Celts and Romans in Britain.** — Long before the coming of the Anglo-Saxons these islands had been occupied, first by some primitive and unknown people, later by the Celts, and afterward by the Romans. In earliest times, which are called prehistoric, two migrations of Celts had taken place. First had come the Gaelic or Goidelic Celts, conquering an older people, traces of whom can be discovered in certain customs of the Celtic conquerors. These Gaelic Celts are the ancestors of the present inhabitants of the Scotch Highlands, the Isle of Man, and the western part of Ireland. Centuries later came the Brythonic or Gallic Celts, whose descendants are to be found in Cornwall, Wales, and Brittany.

When in 55 B.C. Julius Cæsar crossed from Gaul into Britain, he found the Brythonic Celts occupying a large part of the island, and the older Celts forming in Ireland what is known as the nation of the Scots, and in northern Britain, the nation of the Picts. Of Celtic history from 55 B.C. to 43 A.D., when

the Roman emperor Claudius invaded Britain, we know almost nothing. The conquest by the Roman general Plautus in 50 A.D. carried the authority of Rome through the southeast of Britain, but it was not until Agricola became the Roman governor of Britain (80 A.D.), that the Romans passed northward and conquered the region which is now southern Scotland. The emperor Hadrian completed the work of Agricola in 120 A.D., and built a wall or rampart between the Tyne and the Solway.

Thus the greater part of southern and central Britain came under Roman rule, and was transformed into a Roman province. At first, in 197 A.D., the Romans organized the island as a single province; but later they divided it into two provinces, and finally, about 300 A.D., into four. They built roads, which opened to Roman civilization the interior of the island, and guarded them by camps or fortresses. Near the roads they built country houses or villas of stone, and often equipped them with heating and bathing apparatus, and adorned them with wall paintings and mosaic floors. Although many Romans crowded into Britain, yet the total number compared with that of the Celts was small. The upper class of the native Britons became Roman, thriving towns grew up, commerce flourished, grain was raised and exported, and the arts of the Continent were introduced. But the Romans never completely subjugated even the southern portion of Britain, while in the north their occupation was at best only temporary in character and always precarious. Furthermore, they never trained the Romanized Britons in the art of defence, so that when the legions were withdrawn and the Roman citizens fled, the Romanized and Christianized natives were unable to protect themselves. Except for the solidly built roads and villas, the walls and inscribed monuments, and the names of their more important settlements, the Romans left but few permanent traces of their occupancy.

3. The Roman Empire and the Teutonic Tribes in the Fifth Century. — During the fourth and fifth centuries a movement

of Scotland in modern Argyleshire. The Britons in despair made a last appeal to Rome; but in vain. Thrown entirely upon their own resources, they resolved to play off one set of barbarians against the others. Their chief leader, Guthrigernus or Vortigern, summoned to his aid the warlike Jutes under the lead of two chief men or ealdormen, Hengist and Horsa. Then tradition has it[1] that these Jutish war-bands, landing on the island of Thanet, quarrelled with those who had invited them to come, and seized the region later called Kent. Thus began the conquest.

Following the Jutes came the Saxons, the true founders of England, under their war-leaders. Landing on the southern shore, in 477 according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, they carved out a kingdom of their own; and during the following twenty years, groups of independent Saxons fought against the Britons of the southwest and won the region about the old Roman city Venta, which is modern Winchester.[2] In the meantime, and afterward also, came the Angles, migrating as an entire folk, not as groups of warriors like the Jutes and Saxons; and by 526 they had occupied the east coast, settling as two kingless tribes, the northfolk and southfolk, in East Anglia. Others of the same tribes gained a foothold farther north, and founded in 547 the kingdom of Bernicia, and in 588 that of Deira, covering the coast from The Wash to the Firth of Forth, where, curiously enough, Frisians seem to have made an earlier settlement. Thus, before the close of the sixth century, the Teutonic tribes were in possession of the coast of Britain from the Firth of Forth to the Isle of Wight, and were ready to push their conquests into the interior of the island.

[1] Colby, No. 5; Lee, Nos. 22, 23; Kendall, No. 3.

[2] Three important papers on the early Saxon conquest have recently been written: Stevenson, "Beginnings of Wessex," *English Historical Review*, 1899, p. 32; Round, "The Settlement of the South and East Saxons," in *The Commune of London;* and Stevenson, "Dr. Guest and the English Conquest of South Britain," *E. H. R.*, October, 1902, which shows the unreliability of much of the evidence upon which Green based his *Making of England.*

6. Conquest of the Interior. — To the new-comers Britain was a land of great fertility as compared with that which they had left behind them. Little wonder is it that they soon advanced to complete the conquest. Of the earlier phases of the struggle, from 450 to 550, we know little. Leaving the coast, the Teutonic strangers followed the river valleys and open places, and occupied the land between fens and forests, wood and dike. The resistance of the Britons was desperate. Under Ambrosius Aurelius, toward the end of the fifth century, they made a stand, but were defeated. They succeeded, however, in winning a glorious victory (date unknown, possibly 500) at Mount Badon,[1] which for the moment checked the advance of the Saxons and postponed further conquest for forty years.

The respite, however, was brief. The second period of conquest was for the Anglo-Saxons a time of continuous success. Passing up the rivers from the south coast and crossing the valley of the Thames, the West Saxons won a victory at Bedford about 571. Six years afterward they broke the resistance of the Britons in the southwest by winning a battle at Deorham (between Bath and Gloucester), thus occupying the valley of the Severn and cutting off the Britons in Devon and Cornwall from those in North Wales and Strathclyde. The Angles, moving westward from the central coast, established the kingdom of Mercia, or the March-land. In the north, Ælfrith, king of Deira and Bernicia, attacked the Britons of Wales and the north in 616[2] and defeated them in a mighty battle at Chester. This victory completed the work begun at Deorham, and destroyed the unity of the Britons by cutting off those of Wales from the Strathclyde Britons. Henceforth, the latter, separated from their southern kin, occupied the region between Dumbarton on the north and the river Derwent on the south; and as no effectual resistance could longer be made by the Britons, it was now only a mat-

[1] Guest supposed that King Arthur was the leader of the Celts at this battle, but this is only a conjecture.

[2] This is the date accepted by Plummer.

ter of time until the Saxons should become the dominant race in the island.

7. Tribal Settlements.—During the first two centuries of the settlement the conquerors of Britain were not single powerful tribes establishing single tribal kingdoms, but rather dozens of small tribal groups each under its own war-leader. Of but few of these peoples have the names been preserved, and of but very few do we know more than the name.[1] Some of them were groups of warriors, many were doubtless groups of kin-families; that is, families connected by ties of blood, composed of men, women, children, and slaves.

8. Early Organization of the Tribes.—The continued warfare of a century and a half had effected many changes in the organization of these peoples. In nearly all of the early groups the war-leader, or *heretoga*, had become the king. The king was generally selected from a single family which was supposed to be descended from the gods and stood as representing the unity of the tribe. He was awarded the largest portion of the conquered lands and the largest share of the booty. As king he was supported by his people, received maintenance from them in the form of food and products of the soil, obtained a share of all fines imposed and lands confiscated, and was served personally by the men of the tribe in many different capacities. All these gifts and services became more and more definite and exact as time went on, and came to be looked

[1] The Jutes were divided into the East Kent-men and West Kent-men, the Marsh-men, the men of Wight (Wihtsætas), and the Meon-men, or dwellers by the river Meon in Hampshire. The Saxons were divided into East Saxons, Middle Saxons, and West Saxons, who called themselves Gewissi; and the last named contained many lesser groups, such as the Dorsætas (Green's translation of *sæte* as *settler* or *colonist* is wrong; *sæte* is *sitter* or *dweller*), Wiltsætas, Sumorsætas, Defonas, Wentsætas, Magonsætas, and Hwiccas. To the Saxon race belonged also the Surrey-men, who at first occupied an independent district which was afterward seized by the West Saxons. The Angles were divided into East Angles, South Angles, Middle Angles (including the Chilternsætas, the north and south Mercians, and the Peaksætas), the north and south Gyrvians or Fen-men, the Lindissi, Avosætas, and the North Angles, including the north Humbrians and the south Humbrians or Mercians.

upon as special royal rights that the king could grant to others if he wished. On his part, the king was the leader of his tribe in war and a judge among his people. As war-leader he had about him his free-companions called gesithas, who in time became the oldest nobility of the kingdom, the precursors of the thegns; as judge he was accustomed to enforce some sort of justice upon the guilty and to move frequently from place to place, himself and his retinue being housed and fed by the people. He occasionally summoned the chief men of the tribe as councillors, and the latter sat as a body of wise-men, advising the king. Once a year, or perhaps oftener, the king gathered the adult men of the tribe in a folkmôt. This body was originally the fighting force of the tribe, because war was the chief object for which it was summoned, and the settling of disputes, the imposing of fines, and the making of laws were objects of but secondary importance.

Of the local life of the tribe we know very little. The people lived generally in groups, sometimes forming a separate community or village, sometimes clustered about the tûn or farmstead of a chieftain. Their common interests were chiefly connected with their religion, their amusements, and the tilling of the soil. To each family group was assigned enough land for its support, and this portion, called a *hide*, was not at first a fixed amount, but depended on the nature of the soil. That is, if the land were poor, the hide would be larger than it would be if the land were fertile. Land was occupied only as far as it was wanted for the raising of crops or the pasturing of animals. Original allotments of land, called folklands, whether given to king, gesithas, or families, were held according to time-honored custom, and could be used or disposed of as the customs of the people or folk allowed. Socially the invaders were divided into three classes: nobles or eorls, whose superiority came from heredity or birth; ceorls or freemen, composing the greater part of the tribe; and slaves, some brought by the invaders, others obtained by conquest on British soil.

Such seem to have been the chief characteristics of Anglo-Saxon life before the year 600. Gradually the small tribes began to merge into the larger. Some were entirely absorbed; some, though retaining their separate names, were subjugated; and others were united for purposes of conquest. Instead of the many small groups already noted, a few larger tribal peoples appear: Kentishmen, West Saxons, South Saxons, East Anglians, Mercians, Northumbrians. Their kings grew steadily in importance and influence, although we still read of sub-kings, and of subordinate but separate peoples as late as the middle of the tenth century.

9. Introduction of Christianity by Roman Missionaries: in Kent. — All these people were pagans, adhering to the worship of Woden, Thor, and Tiu, gods of the woods and the sky and the powers of nature, — a fact that had come to the notice of the great missionary pope, Gregory, when he was a deacon in Rome. He sent Augustine,[1] the prior of his own monastery, to preach the word of God to the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and in 597 the latter, with nearly forty other monks, landed on the island of Thanet in Kent. Augustine had chosen Kent, partly because it was the best known and most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and partly because its king had married a Frankish princess, Bertha, who was an orthodox Christian. Immediately on landing, Augustine sent a message to the king, telling him of the object of his coming; and a few days later Æthelbirht, who had refused to allow the monks to come into the town, went to the place where they were, and sitting in the open air for fear of magic, listened to the preaching of Augustine. At its close he gave the monks full permission to reside in the chief town of the Kentishmen, Canterbury (burg of the Cantwara), and to win as many as they could to Christ. From that day Christianity took root in England, and soon Æthelbirht himself, his gesithas, and his people accepted the faith and were baptized. Augustine was

[1] Colby, No. 6; Lee, No. 24.

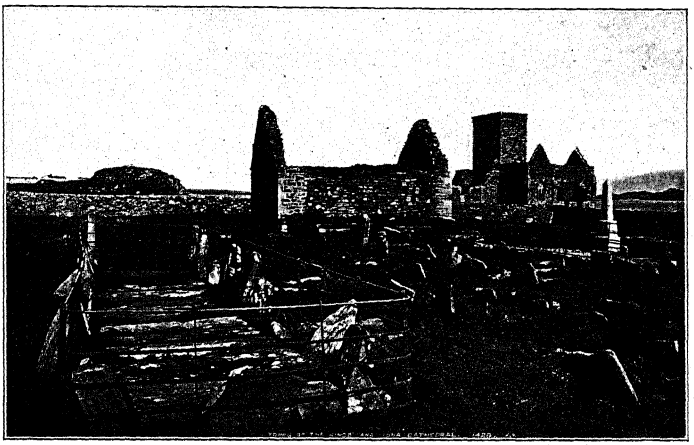
made "archbishop of the English nation," and new workers were sent out. But outside of Kent progress was slow. Though the dependent East Saxons and East Anglians outwardly accepted the faith, they did not long retain it, but went back to paganism after the death of Æthelbirht in 616.

10. In Northumbria and Wessex. — In the year 625 an effort was made to carry Christianity into Northumbria, whose king Eadwine had married Ethelberga, a daughter of Æthelbirht. Ethelberga had taken with her as her preacher Paullinus, a monk lately sent from Rome. Through the combined efforts of the queen and Paullinus, who was soon made bishop of the new region, Eadwine accepted the faith, with the consent of his wise-men, and was baptized with many of his subjects. The old pagan priest Coifu was the first to lead the attack on the heathen idols.

For a few years the worldly affairs of the Northumbrian king prospered. Eadwine extended the power of Northumbria, and, as Bæda says, "reduced under his dominion all the borders of Britain, a thing that no British king had done before." Through his influence the East Anglians were persuaded "to abandon their idolatrous superstitions," and Paullinus preached the faith through Northumbria and Lindsey. "There was," says Bæda, "such perfect peace in Britain that wheresoever the kingdom of Eadwine extended, a woman with her new-born babe might walk throughout the island from sea to sea without receiving any harm." But in 632, having roused against him Penda, king of Mercia and champion of the old pagan faith, Eadwine was killed in the battle of Heathfield in Yorkshire. Paullinus and Ethelberga returned to Kent.

This loss to Christianity in the north was balanced by gains in the south. Three years afterward the pope sent Birinus to Wessex to work among the Gewissi, or West Saxons. As a result the king of the West Saxons was baptized together with his people, and the city of Dorchester was given to Birinus as a see.

11. The Celtic Church and its Missionaries: in Iona, Northumbria, and Mercia. — Owing to the defeat of Eadwine, the Roman missionaries for the time being had to confine their work to the south; but in the north a new influence was to make itself felt. During the Roman occupation, Christianity had been introduced among the Brythonic Celts, and early in the fifth century appears to have been carried from Gaul by St. Patrick to the Gaelic Celts in Ireland. In the years that



IONA CATHEDRAL.

The cathedral in the background to the right dates from the thirteenth century. St. Orans chapel in the middle distance is much older. In the foreground are the tombs of kings of Scotland.

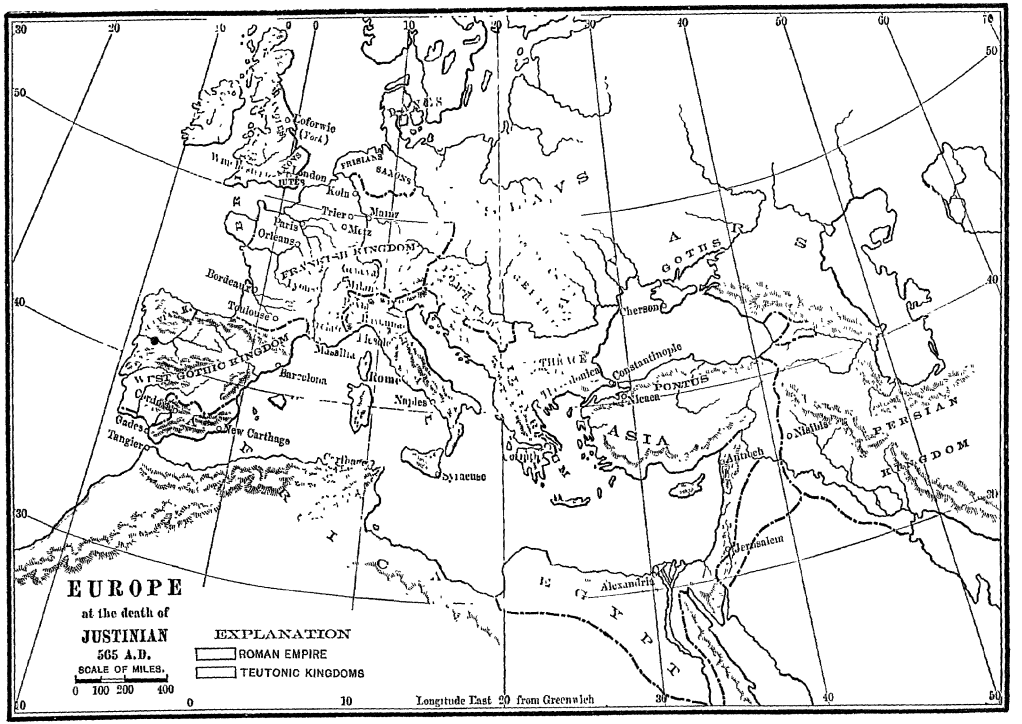
followed, the Scots, who inhabited the northern part of that island, became the most zealous advocates of the Christian faith, and not content with work at home, sought other fields of labor. St. Columban (died 615) worked in Gaul among the Franks;[1] another and more famous missionary, St. Columba, sometimes called the father of the Scottish nation, went from

[1] "Life of St. Columban," by the monk Jonas. *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 7.

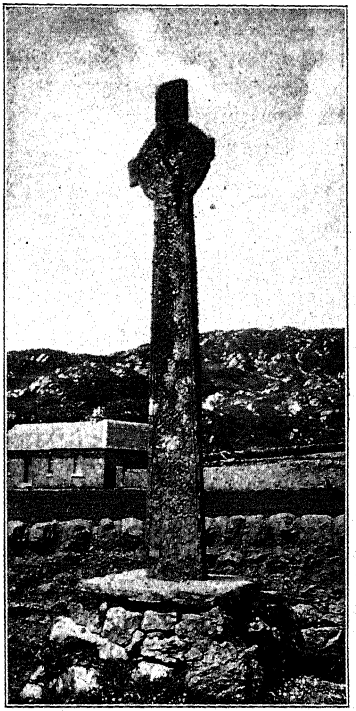
northern Ireland in 563 to the island of Hii or Iona and began his work in southwestern Scotland. From Iona, where he established a monastery, as a centre, the Celtic monks carried Christianity to their kinsmen, the Picts, and founded the Christian church of Scotland.

After the overthrow of Eadwine, King Penda extended his power over the north and the south Humbrians, the Middle Anglians, and the Lindissi, thus making Mercia one of the leading tribal kingdoms in the land. But his rule in the west was not to continue long. Oswald, a prince of the Bernician house, who had been converted to Christianity by the Celtic monks, returned to Bernicia in 633, and with a small army, fighting under a Christian banner, defeated Penda's Welsh ally, Cadwalla, and drove Mercians and Welsh out of Bernicia and Deira. He then sent to Iona for a missionary preacher and gave to the saintly Aidan, who came, the island of Lindisfarne. Many other monks came into Northumbria and began the task of converting the people. Simple, humble, devoted to their work, they went out into the country places, carrying comfort into the homes of the Northumbrians of Bernicia and Deira, and preaching the simple doctrine of humility and charity.

But as Penda was still powerful, the struggle between Mercia and Northumbria continued for nine years, and though Oswald fell in 642, his work was taken up by his brother Oswiu, who threw the weight of his influence on the side of Christianity. He defeated Penda in 655 at Winwæd, near Leeds, in the last great battle between paganism and the creed of Christ, and became in consequence the most powerful king in England. His authority extended from the Forth and the Clyde through central England to The Wash. In his overlordship of subject kings and peoples he was the strongest king that England had yet seen. For nine years, under Oswiu's protection, Aidan and his missionaries labored and completed the conversion of the Middle Anglians and Mercians as well as of the Northumbrians.


EUROPE
at the death of
JUSTINIAN
565 A.D.
SCALE OF MILES.
0 100 200 400
EXPLANATION
ROMAN EMPIRE
TEUTONIC KINGDOMS
Longitude East 20 from Greenwich
Coformje (Port.)
London
Koln
Trier
Metz
Mainz
Paris
Orleans
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Milan
Ravenna
Massilia
Rome
Barcelona
Naples
Gades
New Carthage
Tangiers
Syracuse
Carthage
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Antioch
Nicæa
Constantinople
Thessalonica
Athens
Cherson
GOTHS
PONTUS
ASIA
PERSIAN KINGDOM
FRANKISH KINGDOM
WEST GOTHIC KINGDOM
FRISIANS
SAXONS
JUTES
ANGLES
THURINGIANS
BURGUNDIANS
ALEMANNI
LOMBARDS
AVARS
SLAVS
THRACE
EGYPT

12. Conflict between the Roman and Ionian Missionaries.— Thus in the south the conversion of the English had been effected by the missionaries from Rome; in the middle and north by those from Iona. The former derived their authority from the bishop of Rome, the pope; the latter from Columba, the bishop of Iona. Both were members of Christian churches, differing from each other in certain matters of ritual, such as the way of calculating Easter and the shaving of the head in the tonsure. These matters, slight as they seem, were of sufficient importance to prevent the Celtic church from coöperating with the Roman, even though as early as the days of Augustine conferences had been held on the subject.



CELTIC CROSS AT IONA.

This cross stands near the road leading from the landing-place to the ruins of the cathedral.

In reality, however, there existed between the two churches differences of far greater moment than those which concerned Easter and the tonsure. The Roman missionaries were fewer in number, but more powerful because they had behind them the growing church of the Continent; the Ionian missionaries were more numerous and had made their influence felt over a greater extent of territory, but because of their isolation were less powerful. The Roman missionaries had sought to convert kings and others politically influential; the Ionian, to con-

vert the people; and while the former had used outward ceremony and display, the latter had preached the word of God humbly, seeking to influence by precept and example. Again, and most important of all, the representatives of the Roman church had much more advanced ideas of the way in which the church should be united under one head and made subject to a single authority than had the Ionian representatives who, with very rudimentary ideas of organization, had built up separate churches in each tribe with scarcely more unity than the tribes themselves had. Between these two systems, the Roman with its centre at Canterbury, the Ionian with York as its most influential city, there was bound to come a conflict. This conflict was settled at the synod of Whitby.

13. The Synod of Whitby. — By 664, controversies between the two churches regarding the keeping of Easter and other rules of ecclesiastical life had become so frequent that Oswiu called a synod in the monastery of Whitby. After elaborate arguments had been presented by Wilfrid for the Roman party and Colman for the Ionian, Oswiu turned to Colman and said, "Is it true that Peter has received the keys of Heaven, as Wilfrid says?" Colman answered, "It is true, O king." Then said Oswiu, "Can you show any such power given to your Columba?" "None." Then said the king, "Peter is the doorkeeper, and him I will not contradict, lest when I come to the gates of the kingdom of Heaven there should be none to open them, he being my adversary who is proven to have the keys." Thus a momentous decision was made by the king and assented to by his councillors. The English church became henceforth a part of the great Continental church, of which the bishop of Rome was rapidly becoming the recognized head, or pope; and it was destined to enjoy not only all the advantages that came from contact with the more advanced civilization of the Continent, but also all the benefits that a more highly organized church system could confer. The Ionian clergy, with Colman at their head, left Northumbria to continue in Strathclyde and Pictland the work of the Ionian church, which from this time forward became

only of local importance. On the other hand, the Roman system, before a century had passed, was destined to become dominant in England as far north as the region about Edinburgh, and to aid greatly in furthering the national unity both of England and of Scotland.

14. Organization of the Church: Theodore of Tarsus. — As yet, however, the church in England had little organization or unity. Thus far each missionary and bishop had worked more or less by himself and in his own way. Everywhere there was need of some leader who should bind together the churches of the several kingdoms into a common whole. Such a man was found in Theodore of Tarsus, who in 669 was sent by the pope from Rome to Britain. There he remained for twenty-three years. "This was the first archbishop whom all the English church obeyed," says Bæda; and under him discipline was improved and many instances of faulty management were corrected. He introduced the system, already in use on the Continent, of doing penance for crimes committed. In the old days if one man killed another, he was liable to be killed himself by the relatives of the murdered man; or else he made payment in money or cattle for the injury committed. Such payment was called *wergeld* (p. 47). The church went further, and said that a crime was a wrong done not only to the family or the tribe, but to God also, and was to be paid for not only by money, but by some act of penance, such as fasting, repeating prayers, going on a pilgrimage, or the like. This added very much to the power of the clergy over the people.

Theodore convoked synods of bishops, one at Hertford in 673[1] and another at Heathfield in 680,[2] at which rules were laid down, to be obeyed by all the clergy. He increased the number of dioceses, of which there had formerly been but seven, and made the bishops more responsible than before for the management of them. He encouraged the clergy to study, to take good care of their parishes, and to enforce the law and

[1] Gee and Hardy, No. V. [2] Gee and Hardy, No. VI.

discipline of the great church of which they were a part. The unity thus effected in the church prepared the way for unity among the different peoples and made easier the formation of an English nation.

15. Influence of the Church in England. — The blossoming time of the English church was from 600 to 750. While the tribal peoples in the petty kingdoms were warring against one another, the church stood as the one great uniting force seeking to place the peoples on a common footing as brethren in Christ. While the mass of the English, often only half civilized, clung to many forms of their pagan life, the church slowly and patiently sought to teach them practices that were more humane and methods of life that were more refined, and so became a factor in civilization.

In the *monasteries* it provided peaceful centres where learning, art, agriculture, and the sciences were encouraged, and where refuge was provided for those who wished to withdraw from the confusion of the world about them. The first monastery was established at Canterbury by King Æthelbirht; others were founded by pious kings and nobles. By the middle of the eighth century, a score or more of monasteries possessing lands and rights over lands, conveyed in written charters, existed in England. In worship and discipline, following the rules[1] laid down by Benedict of Nursia two centuries before, the monks maintained religious services, encouraged learning, and trained men in the practices of humility, charity, and obedience.

The monks also cleared the forests, drained the marshes, built roads and bridges, and in other ways improved the great stretches of land granted to them. In the cultivation of these lands they borrowed Roman customs from the great ecclesiastical estates of the Continent, and often forced the free cultivators upon the lands they controlled to render payments and perform labor that was servile in character.[2] Occasionally

[1] For the Benedictine Rule, see Henderson, *Documents*, p. 274.

[2] For example, see the services quoted by Kendall, No. 9.

they erected buildings of stone, in which they put glass windows, bells, and other ornaments. They obtained manuscripts which they copied and illustrated, and imported workmen who made glass vessels and iron utensils. In general they brought Roman art, architecture, literature, and ideas to England. Thus upon the lands around the churches and monasteries arose a more advanced civilization than was to be found elsewhere in England. Because the records written down by the clergy are almost the only sources of our information, there is danger of ascribing to the people of other parts of England conditions of life that existed only on the ecclesiastical lands.

The *men trained in the monasteries* spread widely the influence of the English church. From the monastery of York went Wilfrith, and afterward from Ripon went Willibrord and twelve monks, to convert the Frisians. From Nutsell went the great Winfrith, better known as Boniface, who erected an archbishopric at Mainz and died a martyr among the Frisians in 755. From other monasteries went the brothers Hewald to labor among the Old Saxons, and Swidbert to labor among the Bructeri. The monasteries trained scholars as well as missionaries, men who had been inspired by Theodore of Tarsus to seek learning. By them schools were established, books gathered together, and works hitherto unknown made accessible to both clergy and laity. The most famous schools were at Jarrow and York in England itself. Among the learned men were Bishop Aldhelm, Bæda, the monk of Jarrow, to whose history of the English church we owe the greater part of our knowledge of the early history of England, and Alcuin, librarian of the school at York, who in 782 went to Aix-la-Chapelle and became the teacher of Charles the Great and the head of the palace school.[1]

16. Supremacy of Mercia under Offa; and of Wessex under Ecgbert. — While the church was thus rising into prominence,

[1] Colby, No. 7.

the state was composed of scattered and disunited tribal kingdoms. Under Oswiu, who died in 671, and his son Ecgfrith, Northumbria remained the most powerful kingdom until 685, when Ecgfrith was defeated and slain in a battle with the king of the Picts at Dunnichen in Forfarshire. From that time Northumbria began to lose her ancient prestige, and other kingdoms rose to importance. Mercia, first under Æthelbald (716–755) and afterward under Offa (758–796), came to the front, and under the latter extended its power to the Thames and gained lordship over the East Anglians, East Saxons, and Kentishmen.[1] In the west Offa's authority was recognized by the Welsh, and a dike or rampart that was built from Chester to the mouth of the Wye determined the boundary between the Mercians and the Celts. But at this time the greatness of a kingdom depended on the personal prowess of the king. With the death of Offa in 796 the importance of Mercia passed away, and Wessex rose to power under Ecgbert, a West Saxon prince who had lived for some years at the court of Charles the Great and had there learned to conquer and to rule. Returning to England in 800, Ecgbert at once began his career of conquest. During the thirty-seven years of his reign he subjugated first the Kentishmen, then the South Saxons, East Saxons, and Surreymen; in 823 he overthrew his Mercian rival in a mighty battle at Ellendune near Wilton; and finally he received the submission of the East Anglians and south Humbrians, and of the Welsh of Cornwall, who were defeated in 835 at Hengestun. Thus Ecgbert would seem to have been the first king of all the English peoples and over-lord of many of the Celts; but this was not strictly true. His supremacy differed in no way from that of Æthelbirht, Eadwine, Oswiu, and Offa, except in its completeness. Kent, Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex, each in turn, had controlled the lesser kingdoms as long as each had possessed a man strong enough to maintain his lordship; and the supremacy of each kingdom

[1] For a treaty between Offa and Charles the Great, see Kendall, No. 5.

was bound to disappear as soon as a weaker man should succeed to the kingdom or a stronger man should arise elsewhere.

The period from 450 through Ecgbert's reign was one in which tribal conditions were dominant. The great divisions into West Saxons, East Anglians, Mercians, and the like were essentially tribal in character, and even some of the lesser tribes were destined to retain their identity for more than a century longer.[1] Not until the days of the great West Saxon king Eadgar can we begin to speak of a common England, a single kingdom, a national king. Great events were to take place first. When a line of powerful kings had arisen in Wessex, when a more stable government with fixed institutions had been established, and when the kings of Wessex had acted in combination with the church, which had already set the example of a higher system of organization, then, and then only, was political unity possible. But before this could be accomplished the people of England had to suffer miseries due to an invasion from without. The attacks of the Danes taught the Anglo-Saxons, as far as they ever learned the lesson, the need of united action.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER I. — An excellent account of the physical characteristics of the British Isles may be found in Coman and Kendall, *History of England*, Chap. I., and a more complete description in Geikie, *Geography of the British Isles*. The economic importance of these conditions is well stated in Cunningham and McArthur, *Outline of Industrial History* (1895), Chap. II. The racial characteristics of the prehistoric peoples, of the Celts, and of the Saxons, are admirably treated, with maps and illustrations, by Ripley, *Races of Europe* (1897), Vol. I, Chap. XII.

Brief but satisfactory accounts of the Celts and the Romans in Britain are given by Gardiner, *Student's History of England*, pp. 1–26, and Ransome, *An Advanced History of England*, Chaps. I, II. *Social England* (1st ed.), Vol. I, Chap. I, lays stress on the social and religious life of the Celts, and gives an admirable description of the Roman remains, notably those of Silchester. Good single volumes are Maclear, *The Celts;* Rhys,

[1] We read of the South Anglians till 743; of the Surreymen till the death of Æthelwulf (858); of the Gyrvians till 966; and of the Hwiccas till 969.

Celtic Britain (valuable maps); and Scarth, *Roman Britain* (biassed in favor of Roman influence). For the Celts in Ireland and Scotland and the Romans in Scotland, see Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, Vol. I, Chaps. I, II.

There are many narratives of the "Wandering of the Nations": Emerton's *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, Chaps. I, VI; Robinson's *Introduction to the History of Western Europe* (1902), Chap. III (excellent map); and Oman's *Europe, 476–918* (1893), are among the best. A short account of Anglo-Saxon conquest and history is given in Grant Allen's *Anglo-Saxon Britain*, which deals chiefly with religious and political events to 975, and contains good chapters on language and literature. Nothing can quite take the place of Bæda's *Ecclesiastical History* to 731 (Bohn Library) and of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (in the same volume). Green's *Making of England* to 829 is masterly, though at times largely imaginative; it contains a remarkable series of maps. The most complete history of the Anglo-Saxon church is by Hunt, in the first volume (1899) of *A History of the English Church*. A good work on the history of the Celtic church is Dowden's *Celtic Church in Scotland to the Death of Queen Margaret*, S. P. C. K.

CHAPTER II.

THE DANES AND THE RISE OF WESSEX.

17. The Coming of the Danes. — The people who invaded England in the eighth and ninth centuries were hardy hunters and fishermen, neighbors and cousins of the Anglo-Saxons, living along the coast of Denmark and Scandinavia. They were fierce sea-robbers, barbarians in government and manner of life, whose object was plunder and conquest. Bred of a venturesome spirit in the midst of their fiords, — those retreats which gave them the name of Vikings, or fiord-dwellers, — they were always ready to start on freebooting expeditions toward the shores which lay nearest or which they could reach by sailing westward. Their methods of navigation were simple: they followed the coast, or, if compelled to push out of sight of land, they studied the stars, or let loose a raven and followed his course to land. Under single leaders, chosen for courage and ability, they appeared in their vessels, advancing without warning up the rivers, sacking cities, plundering fields, and destroying monasteries. They penetrated the Seine to Paris, the Loire to Tours, the Guadalquiver to Seville. Charles the Great defeated them in Frisia; Charles the Fat bought them off before Paris; the Moors in Spain fled in dismay before them, thinking them wizards. These were the invaders who threatened to conquer the Anglo-Saxons as effectually as four centuries before the Anglo-Saxons had conquered the Celts.

Though the Northmen or Danes first appeared in 787[1] off Wessex at Wareham, the first serious consequences of their attacks were felt in the north. In 793 the marauders

[1] Lee, p. 96.

attacked Northumbria and destroyed the monastery of Lindisfarne; they then pushed on toward the west, occupied Ireland in 795, and in 802 burned the buildings at Iona. By these acts they completed the crippling of Northumbria, broke up the unity of the Scots in Ireland and southwestern Scotland, and compelled the king of the Picts to transfer the seat of the Celtic church from Iona to Dunkeld. In the meantime the invasion of the centre and south was continued: in 794 the Northmen sacked Wearmouth, and from that time forward their attacks were frequent and persistent. At first their object was plunder, and for half a century they burned and despoiled, going away, however, as rapidly as they came. But in 851 we find the ominous record, "This year the heathen men remained over winter at Thanet."[1] It is evident that the era of settlement had begun, and that land as well as plunder was the object. Ecgbert fought against them as robbers, but his sons and grandsons fought against them as conquerors and permanent settlers. The Anglo-Saxons, divided among themselves, fighting on foot, with a poorly equipped army composed only of the freemen of their tribes, were unable to resist the Danish advance. In Kent and Wessex the Danes had already obtained a footing, and so numerous had they become that in 866, when Æthelred was king of the West Saxons, "a great heathen army," as the Chronicle calls it, "took up its headquarters among the East Angles, and there was provided with horses; and then the East Angles made peace." Thus a new phase of the struggle began: the Danes were no longer content to be mere settlers in the land; they wished to be conquerors also.

18. The Danish "Army." — The Viking host was not a national body in the sense that it represented a single people coming from a single kingdom. It was rather a collection of war-bands living on the country it invaded. Each band was under its own individual chieftain, and the whole "army" was

[1] Cf. Lee, p. 96.

divided into two groups, at the head of one of which were Danish kings, at the head of the other, Danish jarls. The invasion was in fact but the last phase of the old order of things; that is, the last phase of the movement known as the "Wandering of the Nations," of which the migration of the Anglo-Saxons themselves had been but a part. The invasion was the work of many warrior-leaders seeking adventure, booty, and homes. We read of Inghwar and his brothers and successors, Halfdene and Ubba; of Bagseg and his successor Guthrum. They began the conquest, attacking first one part and then another, sometimes destroying the inhabitants, sometimes making peace with them, sacking towns, seizing lands and parcelling them out among their followers in Danish fashion. In consequence, Danish names and customs are to be found throughout half of England, while Danish blood flows in the veins of those who inhabit the region once known as the Danelaw, where the Danes made permanent settlements.

Passing out of East Anglia, part of the "army" under Inghwar and Ubba invaded Northumbria and captured York in 867. The next year it entered Mercia, where King Burhred, despite help furnished by the West Saxons, was forced to conclude a peace. Having reduced Mercia, the bulk of the "army" returned to York, and in 870 under the same leaders went back to East Anglia, where in cold blood they slew King Eadmund and burned the abbey of Peterborough. Afterward the martyred king was revered as a saint, his body translated to a monastery in Suffolk, and the place of his burial called the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. Thus Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia passed under the yoke of the Danes, who, in the following years and under other leaders, became settlers upon the lands they had conquered. Under Halfdene the lands of the Northumbrians were distributed in 876; in 877 the Mercian lands were divided; and in 880 a Danish band took possession of East Anglia and parcelled out the soil. A new people, kindred of the old, had become tillers and ploughers of the lands it had conquered.

19. The Resistance of Wessex. — In the centre and the north the Danes had succeeded in their conquest. Would they carry their efforts further and subjugate the south also? Wessex alone among the kingdoms was able to resist; and upon its king, Æthelred, and his brother Alfred fell the heavy burden of saving the English people from a Danish yoke and England from becoming a Daneland. The year 870–871 was critical in the history of the struggle, for it was in that year that the Danish "army," hurling itself on Wessex, fought stubbornly for the victory. In famous battles Æthelred and the ætheling Alfred fought the Danes among the hills and marshes of Berkshire. On December 31, 870, at Englefield, they defeated jarl Sidroc and a plundering party. Four days later (January 4, 871), pushing on to where the Danes were intrenched in camp at Reading, they suffered defeat and were obliged to withdraw. The Danes advanced to Ashdown, between Wallingford and Marlborough, and there was fought one of the most brilliant battles of the year (January 8). The West Saxons slew one king, Bagseg, five jarls, and many thousand of the heathen host. It was a great victory, and to it no one contributed more than did the young Alfred, who led the attack and sustained the brunt of the fighting.

But the Danes soon took their revenge. Turning southward from Ashdown, they attempted to reach the chief West Saxon city, Winchester; they were intercepted at Basing and forced to fight, but they won the day (January 22). Falling back to their camp at Reading, they remained for two months inactive or engaged at most only in plundering raids; but in March they pushed again into central Wessex. There they engaged the West Saxons at Marton,[1] and though seeming to have lost the day, they remained in the end "masters of the field of death" (March 22). In this battle Æthelred received a mortal wound, and died a month afterward, April 23. He was suc-

[1] For a critical examination of these Danish movements, see "Alfred's Year of Battles," *E.H.R.* 1886, p. 218; Plummer's *Alfred*, pp. 92–105.

ceeded by his brother Alfred, who had so loyally sustained him and upheld the cause of Wessex during these eventful months.

20. Alfred the Great and the Danes. — Alfred the Great, by common repute the noblest of the early English kings, succeeded to his inheritance in the midst of war and became king of the West Saxons in the hour of their greatest peril. From his boyhood he had been considered by all who knew him as the most promising of Æthelwulf's sons; in battle he had shown himself resourceful in command and a brave fighter on the field. He was comely in person, aristocratic in sympathies, and superior to all the men of his time in his love of learning and desire for the improvement of his semi-barbarous people. In 871, when twenty-three years old, he succeeded to the throne of the only kingdom in England which possessed any real national life or made any pretence to an efficient political organization.



ALFRED THE GREAT.

From G. King's engraving of a painting in University College, Oxford. It is of course wholly imaginary, and is only reproduced here to give a seventeenth-century idea of what Alfred looked like. No authentic portrait of Alfred exists.

The first outlook was discouraging. With only a small army behind him, King Alfred was unable to make a pro-

longed effort to dislodge the Danish army from northern Wessex. A month after he came to the throne, his fighting force, without him, met the Danes at Wilton on the Willy, and though victorious for the moment, was defeated in the end. Then Alfred sued for peace, and after paying a heavy tribute,[1] for which he was obliged to tax his people, he obtained a respite for a few years.

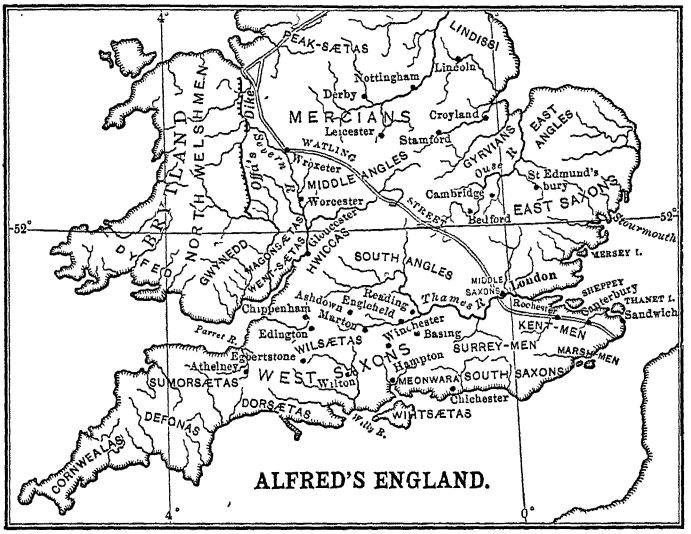
The Danes, being bought off, turned aside from Wessex, and while Guthrum remained at Cambridge, Halfdene completed the conquest of Northumbria and settled there in 875–876. A year later, Ubba and Guthrum renewed their assault on Wessex. They overran the eastern portion of the kingdom, captured London and Winchester, and occupied a fortified camp at Chippenham. Alfred built a fleet of long ships in 877 to guard the coast from attack, and twice paid additional money to the Danes to withdraw. But the latter did not carry out their part of the bargain. Finally, with a little band Alfred made his way into Somerset, to an island called Athelney, a place situated at the junction of the Tone and the Parret and surrounded by marshes and rivers, into which no one could enter without boats.[2] Here he made a fort and laid his plans for victory; and here, in 1693, was found the enamelled jewel with its inscription, "Ælfred mec heht gewyrcan" ("Alfred ordered me to be made"). Gradually, between March and May, 878, he gathered the men of Somerset, Wilts, and Hampshire about him. At the same time a body of Devon men attacked and destroyed a freebooting party under Ubba, slew their king, and captured their raven war-flag. Then Alfred, secretly meeting his tribesmen at Egbertstone, the seat of the shiremôt, advanced with them to Edington (Æthandune), where he fell upon the whole Danish "army" and defeated it with great slaughter. Having driven back the Danes to their retreat at Chippenham, he laid siege to the

[1] "An enormous tribute," one of the charters called it.

[2] Lee, p. 97. Compare also Kendall, No. 7.

place, and by threatening them with starvation, compelled them to sue for peace (878).[1]

21. Alfred and Guthrum's Peace. — This time the peace was kept. Guthrum, the Danish king, entered into friendly relations with Alfred, was baptized with thirty of his followers, and during the following years settled down in East Anglia,



as the peaceful subject of the king. In 885 Alfred occupied London, and the next year made a second treaty with Guthrum, dividing the kingdom.[2] "This is the peace," says the old text, "that King Alfred and King Guthrum made and the witan (wise-men) of all the English race and the whole body of the Danish people who are in East Anglia." By this

[1] Lee, pp. 96–97; Colby, No. 9.

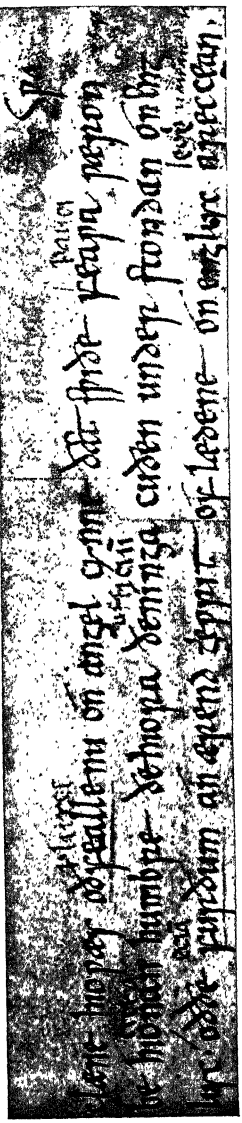
[2] This treaty has generally been confused with that of Chippenham, 878, as, for example, by Lee, pp. 98–99; but inasmuch as the boundary between Wessex and the Danelaw left London in Alfred's hands, the terms of that boundary must have been arranged after Alfred's capture of that city in 885. See Plummer, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Vol. II, p. 99; *Alfred*, pp. 108–109.

treaty the boundary between English and Danes is defined as extending up the Thames to the Lea, along the Lea to its source, thence to Bedford, thence up the Ouse to Watling Street, and thence probably to the Severn and the Welsh frontier. On one side of this line, which divided England into two parts, were the Danes in East Anglia, the Danes in the Five Boroughs, Derby, Stamford, Nottingham, Lincoln, and Leicester, which had been founded by them in Mercia, and the Danes in Northumbria as far as the Tees; on the other side were the West Saxons, whose authority extended from Cornwall to Kent. The English and the Danes on one side obeyed the Dane-law; the West Saxons, Mercians, Surrey-men, South Saxons, and Kentishmen on the other obeyed the West Saxon law.

The consequences of this arrangement were of vast importance for England. Alfred had emerged from the struggle strengthened rather than weakened, for he now ruled over a territory nearly twice as large as that which his brother had controlled, and the opportunity was at last offered of erecting a powerful English kingdom in the south. The growth of this kingdom marks the foundation of an English state and an English nation.

22. Effects of the Danish Conquest. — The *evil* effects of the Danish conquest were, in the beginning, everywhere apparent. Monasteries had been sacked, towns destroyed, harvests ruined, and hundreds of prisoners taken and sold into slavery. Whole districts had been devastated, the English had been driven out or subjected, the monastic centres of learning and Christian influence had practically ceased to exist, and many parts of the centre and north had come under pagan control. In the region north of the Tees, English rule was still maintained; but further north, the Celtic king, Constantin, had been harassed by Norwegians[1] as Alfred had been by Danes.

[1] Norwegians had established themselves in northernmost Scotland and in Ireland. Hume Browne, *History of Scotland*, Vol. I, pp. 33–34.



EXTRACT FROM THE PREFACE TO KING ALFRED'S TRANSLATION OF GREGORY'S *Pastoral Care*. Swa

clæne hio wæs othfeallenu on angel cynne thæt swithe feawa waeron
be hionan humbre the hiora theninge cuthen under stonden on Eng-
lisc: oththe furthum an ærend gewrit of lædene on englise areccean.

South of the Thames the effects were startling. Alfred says, in his preface to the translation of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care:* "So clean was learning fallen away among the English that there were very few on this side of the Humber who knew how to render their daily prayers in English, or so much as translate an epistle out of Latin into English. I ween that there were not so many beyond the Humber. They were so few that I cannot think of a single one south of the Thames when I took the kingdom."[1] This was the condition of learning a century and a half after the death of Bæda, and but a century after Alcuin had become the great literary leader at the court of Charles the Great. At the same time the long-continued wars were changing the social condition of the people. Many who had been free possessors of their own folklands were

[1] Earle, *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, p. 190.

compelled to seek the protection of those stronger than themselves and to bow their heads for meat in the evil days.

On the other hand, the *good* effects of the Danish conquest were many. Indirectly, the conquest was beneficial for England. By forcing political unity upon Wessex, the kingdom in which lay the future of England, it prepared the way for the unity of all Christian England. Hereafter the Celts in Devon and Somerset were to become Englishmen equally with the Saxons in Mercia and the Jutes in Kent. Furthermore, the Danes brought a fresh supply of Teutonic blood into England and strengthened the institutions which the Angles and Saxons had already established. In law and language, in habits and customs of life, the two peoples had so much in common that for their union into one nation only a reasonable period of time was now necessary.

23. Alfred's Work in Wessex. — Until the year 896 King Alfred continued his war against the Danes under their last great leader, Hæsten.[1] But by 881 his military work had been largely accomplished, and he was able to turn to matters of internal reorganization and reform.

His first consideration was for the *defences* of his kingdom. Already, in 877, had he commanded long ships to be built for the protection of the coast, and with these in 882 and again in 885 he had defeated and captured ships of the Danes. In 897 he enlarged the navy by the construction of ships twice as large as the others and propelled by sixty oars or more. In the army his changes were even more radical. He increased the number of thegns, who had been at first attendants on the royal household and later had become a territorial nobility, and required of them a more regular military service. He divided them into three groups, one of which was always to be with him as he travelled from one royal estate to another — for the king had no fixed court. In this way he provided for

[1] Article by Abbott, on "Hasting," in *E. H. R.*, 1898, p. 439. Hæsten and his followers brought their wives and children with them and seem to have made a deliberate attempt to conquer England.

a permanent body of heavy-armed men. The fyrd, or body of foot-soldiers, he divided into two parts, one of which remained at home, while the other fought with the king and the thegns. He also mounted many of his men on horseback for greater rapidity of movement. To others of his people he intrusted the erection of fortified camps and the strengthening and defence of the burgs. It is a noteworthy evidence of the success of these changes that not only was Alfred able to ward off the attack of Hæsten, but that for nearly a century after this time his successors were almost continuously victorious in all conflicts with the Danes.

Alfred strengthened also the organization of the *church*, and brought it into closer contact with the Continental church of which it was a part. During a visit to Rome in 853, when but five years old, he seems to have received at the hands of Leo IV some special recognition, the exact nature of which is not known.[1] Asser and the Chronicle say that the pope "hallowed Alfred as king and took him as his bishop's son," the latter referring to the act of confirmation. But whether the "hallowing" was a consecration as king or an investiture as consul of the Roman Empire is doubtful. Alfred, in after years, constantly sent alms and letters to Rome and received gifts of books and relics in return. He did what he could for the monasteries that had suffered so terribly from the Danish attacks. He erected two new monasteries in Wessex, one at Athelney and another at Shaftsbury, the latter of which he placed under his own daughter as abbess; and to each he gave an ample endowment. He strengthened neighboring monasteries in Mercia, and gave freely, not only to churches elsewhere in England, but also out of it, in Brittany and Ireland. He was constant in his attendance upon worship, and was accustomed to pray secretly at night in the churches or at the relics of the saints.

For *learning and literature* his work is especially famous. He

[1] Hunt, p. 260; Plummer's *Alfred*, pp. 70–74; Stevenson's *Asser*, pp. 180–185.

organized schools both at his court and at the monasteries, demanding the attendance of his own children as well as those of the nobility, that they might read Latin and Saxon books and learn to write. About him he gathered men of learning: Werefrith of Worcester, Plegmund, Æthelstan and Werewulf, priests and scholars from Mercia, Grimbald of St. Omer's, and John the Old Saxon from the Continent, all of whom aided him in his work.[1] He read books, and had others read to him. For the instruction of the clergy, he translated, from the Latin, Gregory's *Pastoral Care;* and though occupied with matters of state and in poor health found time to translate and comment upon Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiæ,* and Orosius, *History of the World.* Either he himself or one of his Mercian scholars made a version of Bæda's *Ecclesiastical History;* and a group of monks, probably at Winchester, gave a splendid impetus to Anglo-Saxon prose by gathering together the annals kept in the monasteries and continuing them in the form of a chronicle. The translation of Bæda and the writing of the Chronicle bear witness to the growing national spirit that Alfred was stimulating in Wessex.

In *law and government* the king's efforts were no less successful. He gathered into one code[2] the laws of the West Saxon kingdom, comprising church laws adopted in the synods, those of Æthelbirht of Kent, those of his own predecessor, Ine of the West Saxons, and those of Offa of Mercia. To these he added a few of his own, prefacing the whole with an elaborate introduction, composed of the Ten Commandments, part of the Law of Moses, a letter of the Apostles from Jerusalem, and some original remarks of his own. This collection is of great importance; for not only is it one of the greatest monuments of this prudent and far-sighted king, but it laid

[1] Colby, No. 8.

[2] A scholarly study of this code may be found in the introduction to Turk's *The Legal Code of Ælfred the Great.* See also Plummer, *Alfred,* pp. 121–124. For selections from his dooms, see Kendall, No. 6.

the foundation for law in Wessex, and upon it were built the laws of his successors.

What he did for government is more difficult to determine; for later generations, impressed with Alfred's greatness, attributed to him laws that were not his, and political changes that he did not effect. We know that he was constantly exhorting his ministers to govern more wisely, and that he himself kept careful watch to see that justice was done throughout the kingdom. He made the central government more efficient by frequent meetings of his chief advisers, and also controlled local affairs by sending chosen persons to see that peace was maintained and that the good of his people was considered in the smaller districts.

In general he encouraged hunting and manly pursuits, fostered the making of articles in gold, and promoted trade and commerce. He restored cities and towns, and rebuilt many royal villas; he was in frequent communication with the world outside of England; he exchanged letters and gifts with foreign kings and patriarchs, notably Elias III of Jerusalem, and he is said to have sent Sighelm to the shrine of St. Thomas, in India. We know that he despatched Othere on a voyage to the northeast. All this was accomplished by a man who was tormented during his life by a grievous sickness, and who died at the early age of fifty-two, October 26, 901 (899 ?).[1]

24. Expansion of Wessex. — Alfred was followed by a line of noteworthy kings who maintained the dignity of Wessex and extended its power, not only over Danish territory, but

[1] The year of Alfred's death is uncertain. Stevenson, after a critical examination of the evidence, decides in favor of 899; *E. H. R.*, 1898, p. 71. His conclusions had the high approval of Bishop Stubbs. Plummer, however, decides in favor of 900; *Alfred*, pp. 197–198. The perfectness of Alfred's character has been heightened unnecessarily by the exaggerated praises of many modern writers. Even to the men of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Alfred was "England's darling," and he has remained such ever since. Nevertheless there is little warrant in what we know of Alfred for making him a saint. His works speak for him, and sufficiently indicate his greatness.

in the regions occupied by the Celts as well. Under Eadward the Elder (901–924), Æthelstan (924–940), Eadmund (940–946), and Eadgar (959–975), the boundaries of Wessex were widened by the addition of conquered territory, its laws and methods of government carried north of the Thames, and its inhabitants and the Danes bound together into a closer union.

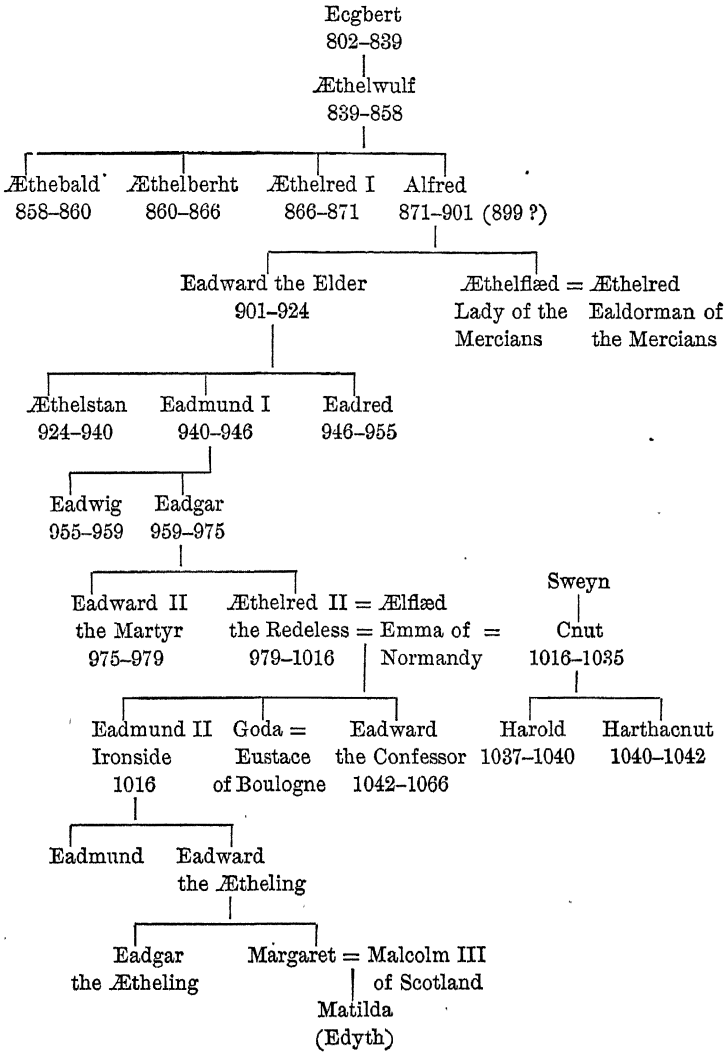
The steps in this process may be briefly traced. From 906 to 924, under Eadward the Elder, the West Saxon arms were borne against East Anglia, which submitted in 921; against the kings of central Wales, who acknowledged Eadward's supremacy in 922; and finally against the Five Boroughs, the last of which, Nottingham, was captured in 924. Thus central England was added to Wessex, and the king's authority was recognized as far north as the Humber. The Chronicle tells us, too, that in that year Constantin III, the king of the united Picts and Scots, Eldred, the king of Bernicia, and Donald, king of the Strathclyde Britons, chose Eadward for their father and lord; but this is probably a mediæval exaggeration, bearing witness to the greatness of Eadward's fame as a warrior.

Æthelstan carried the work of his predecessors a step farther. He warred with the Britons in Wales, annexed Danish Northumbria, and when in 937 an alliance of Scots, Danes, and Strathclyde Britons was formed against him, won the famous battle of Brunanburh. This battle made Æthelstan known on the Continent, and is celebrated in one of the finest of the Anglo-Saxon songs.[1]

Æthelstan died in 940, and his successor, Eadmund, was compelled, by a dangerous revolt of the Danes in the Five Boroughs, to withdraw for the moment from the north. But with this uprising checked he was able in 944 to take up his father's work. He drove the Danish king from Northumbria

[1] "The Song of the Fight of Brunanburh," Plummer, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Vol. II; Ten Brink, *Early English Literature*, pp. 91–92; and Tennyson's modern version of the poem. Also Kendall, No. 8. Ramsey, *Foundations of England*, would locate the site of the battle at Bourne, in Lincolnshire; Plummer prefers a western location.

ANGLO-SAXON KINGS.



and compelled him to flee to Ireland; he turned westward, marched into Strathclyde, through which the Danes from Ireland had been accustomed to bring assistance to the Danes of Northumbria, and harried the land. Then he delivered a portion of it — modern Cumberland — to Malcolm I, nephew and successor of Constantin who had aided him at Brunanburh, to be held by Malcolm as a "fellow-worker."

Eadred, Eadmund's successor, renewed the compact, but, as was to be expected, it was not kept by turbulent Britons and Scots constantly at war among themselves and living on a northern frontier so far away from Wessex. The existence of such a compact testifies to the fact that the power of Wessex had been carried far to the north and that its king was recognized in some way as the superior of the tribal kings of the Scots and Britons. By the expansion of Wessex a national England was gradually coming into existence.

25. Eadgar. — Under Eadgar, who reigned from 959 to 975, England of the Anglo-Saxon period rose to its highest point of political power. This was due, not to Eadgar alone, but in no small part to the statesmanlike genius of Archbishop Dunstan, who, with Bishop Ethelwold, was the chief adviser of the king. To these three men working in harmony with each other must be attributed the most important measures which have made Eadgar's reign prominent in English history. For the first time the kingdom was at peace. "Eadgar loved God's law and bettered the peace of the folk beyond any king who had gone before him." This he accomplished in many ways: he guarded the kingdom against invasion, by himself invading Wales and Strathclyde to check rebellious movements; he enlarged the fleet with which he coasted around the island to ward off attacks from the Danes, notably those of Ireland; and he preserved friendly relations with the rulers of the Celts of the north and northwest. "And all the kings of this island," says Aelfric, "of Cumbrians and Scots, eight kings, came to Eadgar once upon a time in one day, and they all bowed to Eadgar's government." A later chronicler, fond of

exaggeration, tells us that eight kings rowed King Eadgar on the river Dee, while the latter steered with a golden rudder. The tale shows the power of Eadgar's name.

Eadgar strengthened the *internal government* of his kingdom. His predecessors had already recognized the need of improving its organization; for Æthelstan had placed Essex and East Anglia under the control of ealdormen, who ruled there for the king, and Eadwig had increased the ealdormanries, as they were called, by adding Northumbria and Mercia to Essex and East Anglia. But Eadgar, knowing the difficulty of governing so large a region, in days when communication was slow, divided Northumbria into two ealdormanries and Wessex into three. This system worked well with Eadgar, who was a strong king, but there was no certainty that it would work well under his successors if any of them proved a weak man. The ealdormen were selected from among the most influential men of each region, were indeed often themselves sub-kings, and there was always danger that they would grow more important than the king himself, and would usurp his authority there. But Eadgar controlled his ealdormen. "Twice a year, summer and winter, he rode through every shire inquiring into the judgments of his ealdormen, and showing himself a powerful avenger in the name of justice."

Eadgar stirred up the people in their towns and villages by increasing the usefulness of *local institutions*. He required that the court of the hundred should meet regularly once a month, that of the shire once every six months, and that of the borough once every four months.[1] He increased the importance of the hundred by making it responsible for the preservation of the peace, requiring it to look after thieves, and to have twelve witnesses in whose presence cattle were to be bought.[2] Large towns he ordered to have thirty-three such witnesses.

[1] The division of England into shires and hundreds will be discussed in the chapter on Anglo-Saxon institutions. The system of môt or courts will also be explained there.

[2] Lee, pp. 94–95.

These laws were intended to check murder and robbery, which with perjury were the most frequent offences of these days. Eadgar also made money uniform throughout the kingdom, and established one standard for weights and measures. He sought to conciliate the Danes and to transform them into loyal subjects by allowing them to be tried by their own laws, by appointing many of them ealdormen, and then by summoning these ealdormen to sit with his wise-men. Though this policy made the native English jealous, and led to many complaints at the time, it proved, as the future showed, an eminently wise one.

26. Dunstan's Reforms. — Dunstan had helped the king in all his political reforms, but was himself even more interested in the condition of the church and the clergy. Since the founding of the Benedictine monasteries in England, in the years from 600 to 750, the spiritual life of the monks, not only in England but on the Continent also, had deteriorated, and in the tenth century a movement had begun at the monastery of Cluny in Burgundy for the improvement of the clergy throughout the church.[1] This Cluniac revival spread to England, where Dunstan and Oswald, bishop of Worcester, were eager to take up the new movement.

What they tried to do was this: they wished to bring the church in England into closer touch with the church on the Continent; to increase the number of monasteries in England, and to have them all managed alike under the reformed Benedictine rule of Cluny; to bring in books of higher scholarship and deeper spiritual character, and so arouse the English monks to a greater interest in literary and spiritual things; lastly, to stop the marriage of the clergy, and to prevent the archbishops, bishops, and abbots from taking prominent part in political affairs and so neglecting their religious duties.

Their efforts, however, were only partly successful. Dunstan was able to increase the number of monasteries, both in and out

[1] Henderson, *Documents*, p. 329.

of Wessex, to enlarge the duties of the regular clergy (the monks) by substituting them in many instances for the secular clergy (the priests), and to complete the ecclesiastical unity of England by raising Oswald to be archbishop of York. But his reforms were premature, and roused great opposition. With the death of Eadgar in 975 he lost his best ally, and though he lived thirteen years longer, he made but few attempts to complete what he had begun. When he died in 988, Anglo-Saxon England had already entered on a period marked by disaster and decay.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER II. — The best general work upon the Danish conquest is Green's *Conquest of England* (1883, reprinted, two volumes, 1899). Chapter XII of Keary's *Vikings in Western Christendom* (1891), pp. 350–354, bears on the same subject for the years 789 to 888. Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, Vol. I, is a standard authority. Pauli's *Life of Alfred* (1851, 1853) has long been the most acceptable work on the great king, but has been in large part superseded by Plummer's *Life and Times of Alfred the Great* (1902). The notes to Plummer's edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (two volumes, 1892, 1899) and Stevenson's edition of *Asser* (1904) are of great value. For Dunstan, the life in the *Dictionary of National Biography* by Hunt and the same writer's account in his volume in the *History of the English Church*, Vol. I, Chap. XVII–XIX, are eminently satisfactory. For the effects of the Danish conquest, see *Social England* (1st ed.), Vol. I, p. 140, and Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry*, Vol. I, pp. 79–92; but there is no account in English that is even approximately complete.

CHAPTER III.

ANGLO-SAXON INSTITUTIONS.

27. Anglo-Saxon methods of life and government had by the close of Eadgar's reign become so well established that we are able to describe them with a fair degree of accuracy. The tribal organization already discussed was the starting-point in the development of the later institutions, but great changes had already taken place. The king of the tribe had become the king of all England; the council of wise-men had risen steadily in importance as the royal power had increased; thegns, in the old time only personal attendants on the king, had become great territorial lords, taking the place of the old earls and gesithas; the old tribal kingdoms, having ceased to be the seats of separate clans, had become administrative districts or shires in the larger kingdoms; the sub-kings had often become ealdormen of the district, and the folkmôt of the tribe had become the court of the shire; within the shire another division called the hundred had been growing more and more prominent; finally, the old land system and the old tribal customs had been modified, largely through the influence of the church.

28. The King. — Most important of all these changes was the growth in the power of the king. In origin only the chief of a conquering war-band, the king had now become the permanent head of a great and settled people. He was elected by his great men sitting in council, but always from a particular family, whose hereditary right to furnish kings for the tribe was based on descent from the gods. As early as the

time of Alfred, however, consecration by the church was looked upon as adding to the sanctity of the royal title and person.[1]

The king's powers were far from absolute, and his special rights, though constantly increasing, were not at this time very clearly defined. He was first and foremost a warrior, the head of the people in arms, and conquest had been up to this time one of the most important aspects of Anglo-Saxon life. As a law-maker, whether in writing down the old laws or in making new ones, he generally acted with his chief advisers,— archbishops and bishops, thegns and other prominent men, composing the witan. Of these laws, written in Anglo-Saxon, many collections still exist. As judge, the king held no court and had little to do with the execution of justice, though he sometimes acted as an arbiter. Two kings at least, Alfred[2] and Eadgar, seem to have interfered when a freeman could not obtain justice in a lower court.

As time went on, however, the king came to be considered the source of justice, and crimes or breaches of the peace came to be looked upon especially as an offence against him. This idea of the peace as the king's peace instead of the folk's peace, though it did not make the king a judge any more than he had been before, increased men's respect for him, and caused the laws that he issued to be obeyed more readily. As head of his people and guardian of the peace, he took portions of all fines imposed by the courts on all persons who deserted the army or were guilty of contempt of court or other petty offences. He also received portions of all property forfeited for treason, many tolls from markets, fairs, and other trading privileges, as well as dues for the use of harbors and navigable rivers. From these revenues, supplemented by certain yearly supplies

[1] This would be true whether Alfred was "hallowed" as prospective king of the West Saxons or only as a sub-king of Kent, as Plummer is inclined to think. It may be noticed that as early as 690 Ine was king "by God's grace."

[2] Asser gives a very pleasing picture of Alfred as fountain of justice. See Plummer, *Alfred*, pp. 124–125.

of food sent to him by his people,[1] and from the proceeds of the large holdings of land that he possessed in different parts of his kingdom, the king was expected to live. But in spite of all these rights and privileges the Anglo-Saxon king can hardly be called a ruler in the later sense of the word. He had no direct control over local affairs, which were largely regulated either by local custom or by the courts of the hundred and the shire.

29. The Witan. — There is no evidence to show that the king continued to gather his people about him, as he had done in the earliest days. The last possible trace of this custom is in the "great gathering of God's servants," who with the witan sanctioned the adoption of Ine's laws. Only the wise-men, the witan, continued to meet with the king. This body was made up of those only whom the king desired to summon, — members of the royal family and others close to the king, high officials in the church, prominent thegns, ealdormen, and others whom the king appointed to administer the kingdom. These men met whenever the king had need of them, usually three or four times a year. At these meetings the king and witan issued the laws, as we know from the prefaces to the codes of Ine and others; but that neither king nor witan had much power to enforce these laws is evident from the repetition of the same law in the codes of several kings.

Other powers, nowhere defined in Anglo-Saxon literature, may be inferred from the few instances of their use. There are many instances to show that the witan could elect the king, but few to show that they could depose him. Alfred and his witan made peace with Guthrum; but no mention is made of the witan, when, a few years later, Eadward made a similar peace. A little later, in the tenth century, we find Æthelred and the witan entering into a peace with Olaf and the Danish army; levying one tax for the purpose of buying

[1] For example, Westbury sent yearly to the royal vill "two tuns of strong ale, a comb of mild ale, a comb of Welsh ale; seven oxen, six sheep, forty cheeses, thirty ambers of corn (120 bushels), four ambers of meal."

off the Danes (*Danegeld*) and another for building ships (*shipgeld*),—the first taxes, properly so called, in English history. During the ninth and tenth centuries the king generally acted with the advice of his witan when he made a will,[1] or when he granted to church or thegn any of his royal claims upon the lands of his subjects, though afterwards the witan did nothing more than sign the deed as witnesses.

The king and the witan on a very few occasions heard cases not dealt with in the courts of the shire and the hundred, though generally the local courts were expected to settle all disputes and difficulties by themselves. In feuds between kinsmen, arising from murder, the witan were expected to see that justice was done and recompense made, if possible. In conclusion, it may be said that the witan did not act without the coöperation of the king, nor the king without the advice and consent of the witan.

30. The Shire and the Shiremôt. — The earliest Anglo-Saxon shires[2] were regions originally occupied by small but independent tribes, conquered by the West Saxons and made subject to the authority of the West Saxon king. Before the middle of the ninth century Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, and Surrey had been transformed into shires. In 851 Devon was added; in 860 Hants and Berks; and later in the century Essex, Sussex, Kent, and Middlesex. As the West Saxon kings continued their conquests north of the Thames, they made use of the shire system there also, but in different ways. In the northeast they kept the old tribal divisions, as the names Norfolk, Suffolk, and Northumbria attest; but in Mercia, where the tribal groups of the Middle Anglians had been wiped out by the Danish conquest, they seem to have applied a more artificial system. They selected a leading town, such as Cambridge, Leicester, or Nottingham, and forming the surrounding district into

[1] Notably in Alfred's case Plummer, *Alfred*, pp. 125–126.

[2] The word *shire* is not derived from *share*, as is frequently asserted. That the shire and the ealdorman were in existence in the seventh century is evident from Ine's laws (690).

a shire, named it after that town. Some of the shires were not formed until the twelfth century.

At the head of a shire, or a group of shires, was the ealdorman, an official generally selected by the king and the witan from among the most prominent men of the locality. For this reason the ealdormen were apt to be natives of the territory they governed; their lands and kin would be there, and their interests would lie with the locality rather than with the king. In this respect they differed from that other prominent man of the shire—the shire-reeve or sheriff. The sheriff was in origin a royal servant, sent to take charge of the royal lands in the shire, to collect the king's revenue there, and to receive the king's share of the fines imposed by the courts. The ealdorman was of great dignity, and could frequently trace his descent from the tribal kings of the region. The sheriff was at first a subordinate, an underling; but he was to rise as monarchy rose until in time his office became one of the most influential in the kingdom, sought for by men of highest rank.

The shiremôt, although in most cases the direct successor of the old tribal folkmôt, had by the time of Eadgar and his sons become of less consequence than the môt of the hundred. The shire usually coincided with the diocese, and the bishop, as well as the ealdorman and the sheriff, was present at its meetings. There were present also the landowners of the shire, who, if they did not wish to go, could send their reeves or stewards in their place. There seem also to have been present some of the better sort of villagers, but for what purpose or in what capacity we do not know. The shiremôt met only twice a year, although at a later time provision was made for more frequent meetings if necessary. This court concerned itself chiefly with land questions and "guarded the folklaw," that is, saw that the old tribal customs were maintained. It was also called upon, probably, to deal with some matters of an ecclesiastical character, and to consider cases for which, after three trials, a hearing could not be obtained in the hundred court.

31. The Hundred and the Hundredmôt. — The origin of the hundred is uncertain; it had probably existed from very early times as a division of the older tribal kingdoms. Eadmund was the first, however, to mention it in his laws by that name, though it is probably referred to in earlier laws under more general terms. Eadgar was the first, so far as we know, to use it as a convenient division in the maintenance of peace and justice. In the Danish region of the north the corresponding district was called the wapentake. The hundreds were much smaller in eastern than in western England, because the people, at first conquering slowly, had settled more compactly.

The hundred was the busiest of all the divisions of the kingdom, and the most important.[1] It performed its work through a court, or môt, which met every four weeks.[2] At the head of the môt was the sheriff or one of his subordinates, and possibly some ecclesiastic, like an archdeacon, sat with the sheriff, just as in the shiremôt the bishop sat with the ealdorman. Probably those who were present at this court were much the same as those who were present at the shiremôts. The court had a great variety of matters to deal with: some civil, concerning land; others criminal, concerning house-breaking, blood-shedding, assault, theft, and the like; and still others ecclesiastical, concerning breaches of church law. Each person was summoned seven days before the court met; if he did not appear, he was heavily fined, and if after three summons he still remained away, he lost his property. Every one had to seek justice first in the hundred court, which met frequently, and in which a decision was consequently speedily reached. If after three trials the freeman could not obtain justice in the hundred court, he might then go to the shire court; but from the latter court there was usually no higher appeal.[3]

32. The Vill. — Within the hundred were the tûns, or vills, both of which names refer to the same thing, one being the

[1] Lee, p. 91. [2] Lee, p. 94. [3] Lee, p. 93.

English, the other the Latin form. Some of the tûns were doubtless single farmsteads; but others, and these were the more common, were clusters of houses occupied by the tûnsmen or villagers. The tûn or vill was composed of homesteads, surrounded by open fields in which the villagers labored, and by meadows, pasture, waste, and forest. The open fields were broad expanses of arable land, divided into narrow strips, which were so distributed as to give each villager an equal share in the field. Each villager had a homestead, a certain number of the strips, and definite rights in the meadows and pastures.[1] The villagers owned the land in severalty, but all ploughed, sowed, and reaped together. The vill, however, had no political importance, and is rarely mentioned in the laws. Only once do the records tell us that the king and the witan made any use of it.[2] This was in Eadgar's time, when the people of the vill were required to report strange cattle brought into their pasture; but even in this case the hundred was held responsible if it were found that the cattle had been stolen, and not bought in the presence of witnesses, as the law required (p. 37).

The inhabitants of the vills were originally the freemen of the tribes. During the long struggle with the Danes, many of these free villagers, losing all that they possessed, had been compelled to seek the protection of more powerful landowners; while others, reduced to poverty by the heavy cost of the war carried on in Wessex and Mercia, had pledged their lands, and on receiving them back had bound themselves to new obligations of payment and labor. This change in the condition of the old freemen came about more easily because the West Saxon kings, since Alfred, had required every freeman to find a lord who should be responsible for his keeping of the peace, and for his appearing at the hundred court when wanted.[3] Probably the change had not gone very far by the time of

[1] Seebohm, *The English Village Community*, Chap. IV.
[2] Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 147.
[3] Lee, p. 88, § 26.

Eadgar, nor had it yet altered seriously the general condition of the people. Each villager, whether he had pledged himself and his land or not, had his wergeld, or price at which he was valued, in case he were murdered;[1] each was entitled to bear arms and serve in the army; and each could get justice in the hundredmôt.

33. The Burgh. — Besides the tûns and vills there were also burghs, settlements more compact than the vills, with larger numbers of inhabitants, and with special privileges which the vills did not possess. Most of the burghs at this early time were half-agricultural communities and half trading centres, located in places, on the coast or inland, favorable for trade and fortification. The origin of the burghs is obscure. Some of them, such as Lincoln and Winchester, go back to the days of the Roman occupation, though continued occupation cannot be proved; others, such as Cambridge,[2] were vills in origin, with open fields, pastures, and waste, but they were not ordinary vills, for many of them were the chief towns of shires, possessing a market and a court; while others, such as Worcester, Hertford, and Warwick, may trace their origin to some of the fortresses erected by the West Saxon kings, notably, by Eadward the Elder, during the wars with the Danes. Trade gave to these centres their exceptional advantages; so that the name "burg" got restricted either to those places specially fortified and capable of defence, which were in convenient trading localities, or to those places which, as seats of the royal administration, had become trading centres because they were under the special protection of the king's peace.

In these burghs were placed the markets, and in them money was coined and business transacted. To fortify and defend the burghs was one of the duties imposed upon every

[1] Lee, p. 89, § 29.

[2] Maitland, *Township and Borough*, p. 44. An admirable book in which to study the early burgh. "In most English boroughs during the greater part of the eleventh century agriculture was a more conspicuous element than trade and industry." Gross, *Gild Merchant*, Vol. I, p. 3, note 2.

Anglo-Saxon landowner: this obligation fell sometimes on the inhabitants or on those in the immediate neighborhood, sometimes on all the people of the shire. Most interesting of all the special privileges of a burgh were its judicial rights. Eadgar decreed that three times a year a burghgemôt should meet, over which the burgh-reeve should preside. This court had to do with the affairs of the burghers just as the hundred-môt had to do with affairs of the people of the hundred; for a burgh in which a court was held was not under the jurisdiction of the hundred court, although it was in the shire and under the sheriff.

34. The Land System:[1] **Folkland.** — To-day we think of land as worth owning whether we actually use it or not; but the Anglo-Saxons did not think so, and consequently valued land only because it could furnish support or revenue, or because it could be given away. At first, there was only one name for all occupied land, namely, folkland. In fact, all lands were folklands to those who occupied and cultivated them. It did not matter whether they had been part of the original distribution among families and individuals or had been brought into use at a later time. The right to use such lands was based upon custom, and the family or individuals possessing or disposing of such lands were governed by the unwritten law of the folk — the folk law. That is why these lands were called folklands. All the Anglo-Saxons, from king to non-noble freeman, who possessed land at all, had folklands, and each family or individual was supported by the food which these lands furnished.

35. Bookland. — The king as an *individual* had his own folklands or royal demesnes, from which he derived a large part of his support. But as *king* he had, as we have seen (pp. 7–8), special rights over the people who were his subjects and over the folklands that they possessed, — rights to food and services of various kinds. In time, these rights came to be looked upon

[1] Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 226–258, 293–318.

as the property of the king and were spoken of as royal rights. At first, the king alone enjoyed these rights; but when the monks came and the conversion of the English began, and he desired for the good of his soul to make gifts to the church, he began to give these rights away. The monks took good care that these gifts should be written in Roman fashion in a deed and signed, so that from the time of Æthelbirht we have the charters or books, written mainly in Latin, which tell us of the gifts of the king. These grants were always of lands already occupied or in large part occupied; so that the value of the gift lay not in the land itself, but in the revenue and services which the monks received from the people who inhabited it. These lands were called booklands, and a single bookland could include many folklands. Afterward the kings made similar grants to their thegns for faithful service done.

36. Loanland. — At first booklands were given without any condition attached, and though the consent of the king was often asked, the person receiving them could generally give them away or leave them to his successors. He was freed from all payment or service to the king except the *trinoda necessitas*,[1] which included ship-service and army-service, repair of bridges, and the maintenance of fortresses.

In the ninth century, however, we meet with grants that were not outright gifts; they were loans. The church made the greater number of these loans, for the idea of the "loan," like the idea of the "book," was brought to England from the Continent by the church. Such loans came out of the booklands which the church had received from the king, and were made to thegns, chiefly those of high rank. But the thegn could not dispose of the land as he pleased; the church had merely loaned it to him that he might enjoy the revenues from it for a limited time, that is, during his life and usually the lives of two others. In return for this

[1] A very good illustration is a charter of 719, in which the king says, "During my life I grant that all monasteries and churches of my kingdom shall be exempt from all public burdens, except the construction of fortresses and bridges, from which no one can be released."

concession the thegn would pay a sum of money, or an annual rent, or would bind himself to do some service for the church or bishop from whom he had received the land. Such lands were called loanlands.

We see then that the same piece of land could be a folkland, a part of a bookland, and a loanland at the same time. It would be folkland to the occupiers, that is, the villagers; bookland to the monastery which received it from the king; and loanland to the thegn who received it from the church on loan for life. Later bookland and loanland became confused, because in the case of each the grant was recorded in a deed or book.

37. General Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Life.—*Agriculture* was the dominant interest among the Anglo-Saxons. Men tilled the fields and raised barley, oats, wheat, beans, and the like; they lived in thatched huts without chimneys, and kept oxen, cows, sheep, goats, swine, poultry, and bees. Upon the church-lands and in the burghs stone was used in building, and the standard of life was higher than in the country places. There was very little communication, men rarely travelled, and the produce of a vill was not taken away to be sold, but was consumed where it was raised. There was almost no money in circulation except in the trading centres. Men paid their dues to the king or to the church in certain amounts of grain or malt, honey and ale, in a certain number of hens and chickens, fish, ewes, or in the performance of certain duties. To a life like this, invasion and war were bound to be injurious, not only because crops would be destroyed, but also because men would be taken away from their ploughing and harvesting.

Keeping the *peace* was at first simply a local obligation.[1] Family groups were held responsible for the conduct of their members, individual persons were held responsible for those of their households; and later, freemen were required to find

[1] A very readable and clear statement of the king's peace is in Pollock's *Oxford Lectures*, "The King's Peace," pp. 70–86.

lords who would be surety for their good behavior. A man might be charged with a great crime, a felony; or a lesser crime, a trespass. If the former, he was at the king's mercy; if the latter, he might get off with paying a fine.

But how was he proved guilty? First, in the presence of the free landowners, who made up the hundred court and acted as judges, he was charged with the crime by the complainant in formal words. This charge he answered in words equally formal. Then those present decided, not on the merits of the case, but according to the correctness of the forms used, which of the two should be put to the proof. Such a method, which seems to us strange, was necessary in an age when all business in the courts and almost everywhere else was conducted by word of mouth and no records were kept. Ability to remember, or to find others who remembered, was of prime importance to the Anglo-Saxons. The one adjudged guilty could clear himself by the ordeal of water, that is, if he sank after being thrown in, he was innocent; or by the ordeal of fire, which necessitated his walking over or carrying hot irons, and if after three days he showed the marks of the burns, he was guilty; or by the testimony of a certain number of oath-helpers or compurgators, who bore witness to his character.[1]

The Angles and Saxons, when they came to Britain, must have spoken a *language* almost entirely free from an admixture of foreign words. After they had settled in the island, a few Latin and Celtic words crept in, but the number was small. In time, dialects arose, chief of which were the West Saxon, the Mercian, and the Northumbrian. Slowly a literature, poetry and prose, came into existence. But learned men wrote in Latin, and most of the charters are in that language. Anglo-Saxon, however, was the tongue of the Chronicle, of the

[1] Medley, *English Constitutional History*, pp. 347–348; Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, 2d ed., Vol. II, pp. 598–608; *Social England* (1st ed.), Vol. I, pp. 285–286; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV, No. 4 (Howland, "Ordeal, Compurgation, Excommunication and Interdict"), pp. 1–16.

laws, of the poets, and of such preachers as Ælfric and Wulfstan. It was everywhere the speech of the people.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER III. — There is no satisfactory account of Anglo-Saxon institutions in compact and complete form. The statements in Terry's *History of England* (1901) are trustworthy, but so scattered as to leave a confused impression on the mind of the reader. Medley's *Constitutional History* (3d ed., 1901) is fully representative of modern scholarship, but is open to the same criticism. Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond* (1897) is an epoch-making work, but deals chiefly with legal and territorial questions. The introduction to Stubbs's *Select Charters* (1870) contains (pp. 7–14) a very cautious statement, afterwards amplified in the same author's *Constitutional History* (1874–1878), Vol. I, pp. 71–182. It needs, however, to be modified in many important particulars. On the land system, Vinogradoff's article in *E. H. R.*, 1893, p. 1, is revolutionary; Medley's account is excellent (pp. 17–19), and contains useful references. On the courts of law, the best account is by Zinkheisen in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. X, p. 132. Translated extracts from the laws may be found in Stubbs's *Select Charters*, pp. 61–72, and in Lee's *Source Book*, Chap. V. For the place of the vill in Anglo-Saxon life, see Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 147–150, 346–356. Ramsey's *Foundations of England*, 2 vols. (1898), is a storehouse of information and is exceedingly valuable as a book of reference. Oman's *A History of the Art of War* (1898) contains a chapter on the military system (Chap. II). The most available and readable books on literature are Earle's *Anglo-Saxon Literature* (S. P. C. K., 1884) and Ten Brink's *Early English Literature* (1884), Vol. I, Book I.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DANISH TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

38. Æthelred and the Danes. — The period from the close of Eadgar's reign to the Norman conquest (975–1066) was one of great disturbance and confusion. With few exceptions the Anglo-Saxon kings showed little of the military sagacity and statesmanship of their predecessors. From without, continued Danish attacks brought misery to the people and finally ended with the accession of a line of Danish kings to the English throne; while from within the kingdom arose great territorial lords, whose ambitions and quarrels threatened England with disunion and civil war, the worst features of feudalism.

After the short reign of Eadward the Martyr, whose violent death was the result of a disputed succession, Æthelred, the younger son of Eadgar, was raised to the throne in 979. Idle and incompetent, he was unfit to rule by himself, and his councillors, ambitious and evil-minded, gave him only bad advice. Æthelred the Redeless, "the unwisely advised," he was justly called in his own day. Around him were men who, taking advantage of his weakness, quarrelled among themselves for the leadership, and became, each in his own earldom, like independent lords. Thus the English, governed by an inefficient king, and divided among themselves by the rivalries of the ealdormen, were in no condition to meet the attack of the Danes, who now appeared off their coasts.

The new invasion of the Danes was very different from that of Alfred's day. It was the work of a Danish king and army, coming from a Danish kingdom, and it had a purpose and unity that the earlier movement had not possessed. The Danish invasion of the ninth century was the last phase of a great

tribal wandering, that is, it represented the work of tribes, not kings; the invasion of the tenth and eleventh centuries was the work of kings, not tribes. In this sense Olaf, Sweyn, and Cnut were the forerunners of William the Conqueror, who, though not a king, was the head of a compact and well-organized feudal state.

The ships of the Danish conquerors were first seen in 980 off Southampton, then off the east coast, and a little later off Dorset; and they met with little opposition.[1] The East Saxon ealdorman, the mighty Byrthnoth, was slain in a fight with Olaf, afterward king of Norway, at Malden, August 11, 991,— a fight celebrated in one of the most spirited of old English songs.[2] Then Æthelred and his witan, acting under the advice of Archbishop Siroc, made a peace with the Danish king, arranged the terms under which English and Danes should live side by side, each under his own law, and for the peace paid a price of £10,000.[3] In 994, £16,000 were paid. These sums must have been exceedingly heavy. The money was raised by a tax on land, called Danegeld, — the first general tax levied in England, so far as we know, since there is no evidence to show how Alfred got the money that he paid to the Danes. But tribute once given was sought again more eagerly. One heretoga tried to resist, but in vain, for unity of military defence no longer existed. In 999 king and witan raised a ship force to coöperate with the land force, but so inefficient was the management that nothing was accomplished; and tribute was again paid to the amount of £24,000.[4] Finally,

[1] Lee, pp. 99–101. Compare Kendall, Nos. 10, 11.

[2] Ten Brink, *Early English Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 92–96.

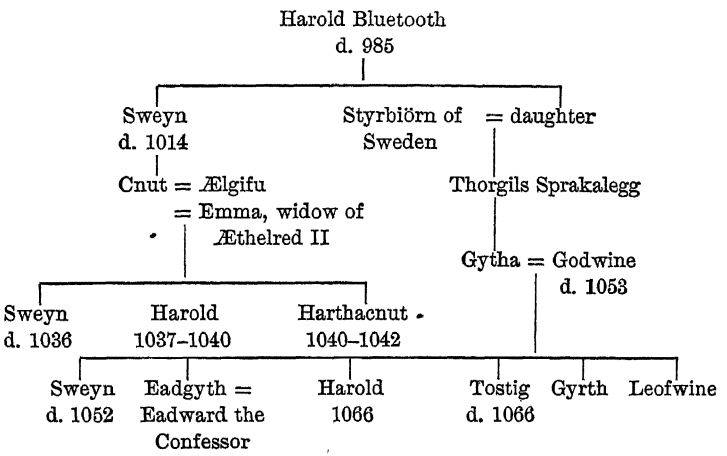
[3] In Æthelred's laws we are told that "Two and twenty thousand pounds of gold and silver were paid to the (Danish) army for the peace." The sum named in the text is from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

[4] It is interesting to notice that from this time Scandinavia "was flooded with English silver money" of the coinage of Æthelred, and that to-day more coins of this mintage are to be found in Scandinavian museums than in the British Museum. Keary, *Introduction to the Catalogue of the Coins in the British Museum*, Anglo-Saxon Series, Vol. II, p. lxxxi.

in 1002, other measures having failed, Æthelred resorted to massacre; and on St. Brice's day caused the Danish residents in southern England to be slain.

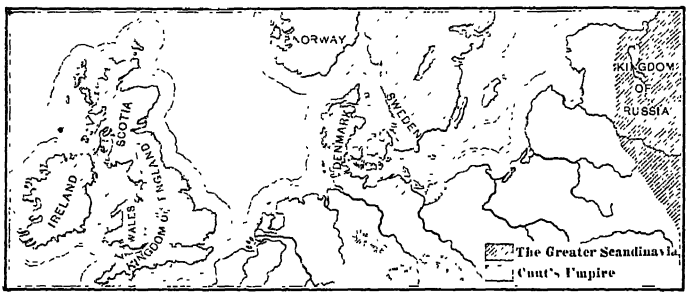
Then came Sweyn Fork-beard, who had been among the earlier invaders and who returned now to wreak a bitter vengeance on the English king for the death of his sister, slain on St. Brice's day. Blow after blow was struck; towns were burned, harvests were ruined. In 1007 tribute to the enormous sum of £30,000 was paid, and in addition £3000 in East Kent. In 1009 ships were again built, shipgeld was levied, a national fast observed; but all to no purpose. Jealousy, treachery, and bad management prevailed and rendered all efforts useless. At last the men of the north, who had never wanted Æthelred for their king, went over to Sweyn; Wessex, East Anglia, and London did the same. In 1014 Sweyn died, leaving the kingdom to his son Cnut. Then the English recalled Æthelred, who had been forced to flee to Normandy. But in 1016 Æthelred himself died, and was succeeded by his son Edmund, called Ironside for his bravery, — a much abler man than his father. For nine

ANGLO-DANISH KINGS AND HOUSE OF GODWINE.



months Edmund carried on the struggle against Cnut in the north with courage and skill; then he died, and Cnut became the ruler of all the English.

39. Cnut. — Cnut was about twenty-two years of age when, accepted by the East Anglians and West Saxons as their king, he became ruler of both English and Danes. He was already king of the Danes of Denmark, and in 1030 secured possession of the Norwegian kingdom also. Thus England, during Cnut's reign, was in a sense but a part of a great northern empire; an empire, however, not firmly united even under Cnut, but composed of three peoples representing different degrees of civili-



zation, and widely separated from each other by intervening waters. Although Cnut had shown the fierceness and cruelty of a viking in the earlier years of warfare, he exhibited a high order of statesmanship when he came to reign. He loved the English as his own people and favored the church, sometimes too ostentatiously. He became a true English king, carrying out the policy of his great predecessors of the house of Alfred, increasing the strength of the kingdom, and furthering the peace and prosperity of his people.

40. The Great Earldoms. — One of his earliest acts was to divide England into four provinces, or earldoms, each of which he placed eventually under a man whom he could trust.[1] The

[1] Lee, p. 101.

earldoms, which corresponded very closely to the older ealdormanries, conformed to the four great tribal divisions into which England had always been separated, even under the West Saxon kings. Two, East Anglia and Northumbria, were in the east and north; and two, Mercia and Wessex, were in the centre and south. The Northumbrians, East Anglians, Mercians, and West Saxons may be called the four races of the English nation. Of the West Saxons Cnut himself took the earldom, though he afterward gave it to Godwine, an Englishman, who had helped him in his wars. The earldom of the East Anglians he gave at first to Thurkill, a Dane; that of Mercia was eventually given to Leofric, an Englishman, the husband of Lady Godiva; and that of Northumbria eventually to Siward of the old Anglo-Danish house. Cnut kept the control of these earldoms in his own hands, as had Eadgar that of the ealdormanries; and as long as he lived no earl was sufficiently strong to usurp royal power or to seize the kingship. All that was to take place after Cnut's death.

41. Cnut's Government and Law. — In his government of the kingdom Cnut sought to blot out all traces of the earlier wars and to unite English and Danes as one people under a peaceful and prosperous rule. To this end he sent his entire Danish army back to Denmark in 1018, and refrained from alienating his English subjects by introducing Danish law and Danish officials into the kingdom. He gathered English and Danes together at Oxford in 1018, where all chose Eadgar's law and swore to observe it; and at a council held at Winchester, sometime between 1027 and 1034, he issued, with the advice of his witan, the most important code of law that had thus far appeared. It was English law, written in Anglo-Saxon, the law of Alfred, Æthelstan, and Eadgar, enlarged and improved.[1]

This law Cnut bade men obey, and obedience brought peace and concord to England. He did what Eadgar had done for the local courts, requiring men to go first to the hundredmôt for

[1] Lee, pp. 101–102.

justice, and in order to hasten decisions in cases carried from the hundredmôts to the shiremôts, he allowed the latter to meet more frequently. Like his predecessors, he discouraged appeals to the king. He protected the weak by commanding every one to swear to keep the peace, and endeavored to enforce the law of Alfred and Æthelstan that every one should have a surety responsible for his appearance at court. He forbade extortions and injustice, admonished his people to observe Sunday, to avoid murder and perjury, and to obey the commands of the church.[1] All these orders he vigorously enforced.

42. Cnut's Foreign Relations and Attitude toward the Church. — In foreign matters Cnut displayed the same far-sighted statesmanship. His interests were wider than had been those of any English king up to this time. He ruled Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; he preserved peaceful relations with the Welsh and Scots; and when in 1018 Malcolm II defeated the Northumbrians in a battle at Carham on the Tweed and seized Lothian, Cnut confirmed the cession and so separated that region permanently from England, — an event of prime importance in Scottish history. Hoping to prevent any attempt of the Normans to invade England in behalf of the sons of Æthelred, he married Emma, Æthelred's widow, herself a daughter of a Norman duke. He held frequent communication with Conrad II, one of the ablest kings of Germany and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and effected a marriage between Conrad's son and his own daughter. And lastly, he brought the English church into closer touch with Rome. In 1027 he himself went on a pilgrimage thither, where he was received with marks of distinguished favor, and where he witnessed the coronation of Conrad. His experiences at Rome he narrated in a famous letter which he sent back to his people.[2] Possessed of great wealth from the revenues of all his kingdoms, he gave liberally to churches and monasteries in England and France,

[1] "Charter of Cnut," Lee, pp. 103–105.

[2] Lee, pp. 105–107; Colby, No. 10; Kendall, No. 12.

and was hailed as a benefactor by the church, both at home and abroad.

43. Danish Influence in England. — Cnut ruled for twenty years, at the end of which time the Danish influence had made itself permanently felt in England. The Danish invasion and rule had introduced a new and hardier element into English life, for the Danes were stronger, freer, and more adventurous than were the Anglo-Saxons of Cnut's day. There is some reason to think that greater freedom existed in the Danelaw than elsewhere, and that the subjection of the peasantry went on more slowly there than in the south, which had been the scene of the bloodiest wars. On the other hand, Cnut's levies of Danegeld — that of £72,000 in 1018, for example — must have had a tremendous effect in reducing the people to poverty; and there is reason to think that from this time the Danegeld, as a tax for the purpose of revenue and no longer as a tribute to buy off the Danes, was more or less regularly imposed.

Other traces of Danish influence are found in names, in forms of landholding, in the promotion of new industries, and pre-eminently in the introduction of a new monetary system. London became, in a sense, a Scandinavian port, and commerce with Flanders, Normandy, France, Germany, and the Baltic began to increase. The Danes were traders, and the union of Norway, Denmark, and England and the close connection of England with the Continent were favorable to commerce and navigation. Twenty years of prosperity gave a great impetus to the boroughs, particularly those of the coasts and rivers, and London, Chester, and Bristol grew rapidly in importance.

44. The Successors of Cnut. — No sooner had Cnut died (1035) than his great empire fell apart. Sweyn, the eldest son, took Norway; Harthacnut, the son of Emma, received Denmark; and Harold, an illegitimate son, was supported by the Anglo-Danes for the kingship of England. Within England, where there was no longer a strong king to control the rival earls, tendencies toward disunion made themselves felt more strongly than before. The great earls of Wessex and Mercia,

Godwine and Leofric, began a struggle for the leadership, Leofric supporting the cause of Harold, Godwine that of Harthacnut. Godwine obtained the consent of the people south of the Thames to receive Harthacnut as king, but his success was only temporary, for Harthacnut refused to leave Denmark. Therefore Harold became sole ruler in 1037, and reigned till 1040. When he died, the people chose Harthacnut, who came to England and ruled for two years. Neither of these men did the least thing to bring unity or peace to England, or to check the ambition and power of the great earls. In 1042 Harthacnut died "as he stood at his drink" at the marriage feast of one of his followers; and the witan, acting under the advice of Godwine, chose as his successor Eadward, son of Æthelred and Emma of Normandy.

45. Eadward the Confessor. — England, which at this time needed the firm hand and vigorous policy of a strong guide and leader, now fell to the lot of one of the weakest of the English line. Saintly, Eadward the Confessor may have been; but he was far from competent to gather into his hands the reins of power and to be king in fact as well as in name. During the first nine years of his twenty years' reign he was ruled by Godwine, who became the power behind the throne, and whose daughter, Eadgyth, he married. He gave over to the earl the chief management of the kingdom, and placed a number of the earl's sons in positions of prominence. To Harold, the second son, he gave the earldom of East Anglia, and to Sweyn, the eldest, and to Beorn, a nephew, smaller earldoms, so that the house of Godwine seemed supreme.

But this harmony between the king and the great earl was not destined to last. Eadward had been brought up a Norman, and at his accession to the throne there came with him to England not only Norman customs and speech but also Norman favorites, who were put into places of influence and prominence. Robert of Jumièges was made archbishop of Canterbury, other Normans were made bishops or abbots, many Nor-



ENGLAND, WALES, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND before 1066.

SCALE OF MILES

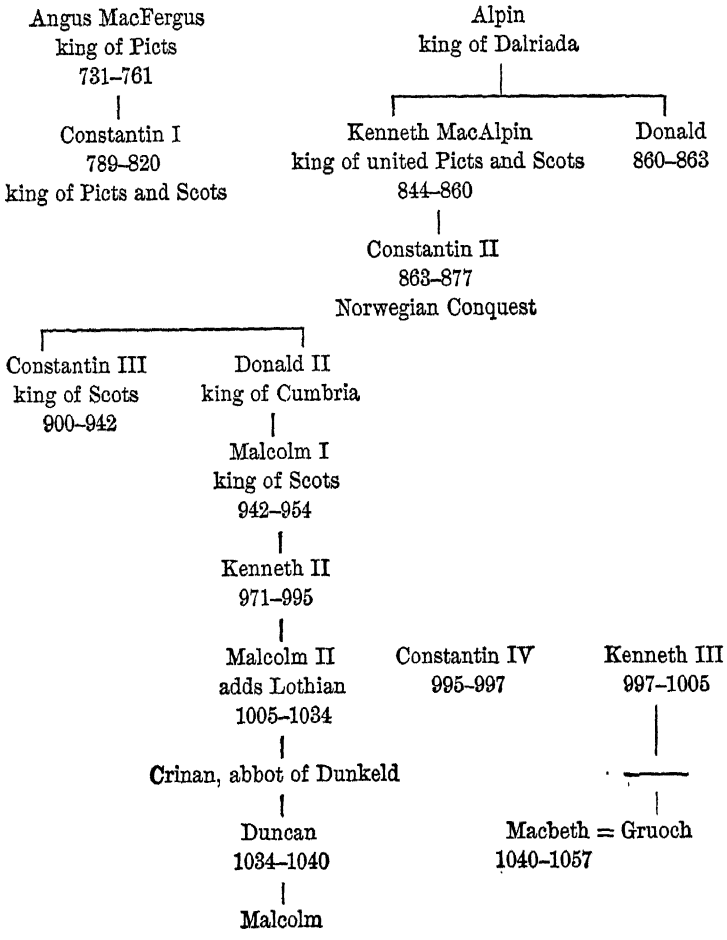
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man lords received lands whereon they erected castles and strongholds, while maritime cities, such as Rouen, received harbor privileges on the English coast. The growing importance of the Normans angered the English earl and his followers. In 1050, when Eustace of Boulogne, the king's brother-in-law, was returning from a visit to Eadward, a quarrel broke out between his followers and the men of Dover, the latter of whom drove the Normans out of the town. Eustace complained to the king, and Eadward ordered Godwine to punish the men of Dover; but Godwine refused to obey, claiming that the Englishmen were in the right. As a result Eadward and the witan, urged on by Leofric of Mercia, outlawed the house of Godwine. Some of the family went to Flanders, a region ruled by a count hostile to the Normans; but Harold, who was half a Dane, his mother being Gytha, a cousin of Cnut, fled to Ireland and lived for a time among the Danish settlers there. The king, rid of the powerful English earl, gave himself up to the influence of his Norman favorites.

But the victory of the Normans was not for long. In 1052 Harold, returning, ravaged the Devon coast, and Godwine, leaving Bruges, joined Harold at the Isle of Wight. A struggle was imminent; but the people "were lothful to fight against those of their own race," and finally the witan inlawed Godwine and his family and gave back to him his earldom "as full and as free as he before possessed it." At the same time they drove out the Normans: Robert, the archbishop, William of London, Ulf of Dorchester, and many guilty knights and barons. Godwine was, however, destined to enjoy his triumph but one year, for in 1053, as he sat with the king at Winchester, he died. Sweyn having died in exile, Harold succeeded to his power and earldom and became for fourteen years the real ruler of England.

46. Harold. — The early years of Harold's government, until he himself became the elected king of the English, were spent in an attempt to unite English, Normans, and Danes by a policy of conciliation, and to strengthen the frontiers of the

KINGS IN SCOTLAND BEFORE THE TIME OF MALCOLM III.



kingdom by a policy of war. He admitted many Normans into England and allowed them to reside there, even giving them places about the person of the king, but refusing to grant them political power. Few of Norman blood became earls or bishops. To demonstrate his ability as a warrior and to guard the kingdom from invasion he undertook, and caused others to undertake, campaigns of considerable importance. In 1054 he encouraged Siward, the powerful earl of Northumbria, to attack Macbeth, who, claiming the throne of the Scots on a pretext of relationship, had slain King Duncan, grandson of Malcolm II, fourteen years before, and taken possession of the kingdom.[1] Siward's attack was only partly successful, and it was left for Duncan's son, Malcolm, to avenge his father. Malcolm had lived for many years at the court of Eadward the Confessor and later married Margaret, granddaughter of Edmund Ironsides. In 1057 Malcolm attacked Macbeth and slew him, becoming king of the Scots as Malcolm III, while Siward became the guardian of the northern frontier.

Harold next carried on a war of eight years' duration with Gruffydd, ruler of the Britons of North Wales, who was aided by the traitorous Ælfgar, earl of East Anglia and son of Leofric, earl of Mercia. Not until 1063, when Gruffydd was treacherously slain, was the war brought to an end. By these means the frontiers on the north and west were rendered more secure.

In the meantime, within the kingdom important changes had taken place in the control of the great earldoms. Godwine had been earl of the West Saxons, Leofric of the Mercians, and Siward of the Northumbrians. On the death of Godwine, Harold had taken his earldom, and Ælfgar, son of Leofric, had taken Harold's place as earl of the East Anglians. When Leofric died, Ælfgar became earl of the Mercians, and on Siward's death King Edward gave Northumbria to Harold's brother, Tostig. Twice Ælfgar rebelled and twice

[1] Shakespeare's picture of Duncan and Macbeth is without historical value.

was he outlawed, and his son, Eadwine, was made earl in his place. In 1065, the Northumbrian Danes rose against Tostig, who had proved a brutal and tactless ruler, and expelled him from his earldom. His place was given to the second son of Ælfgar, Morkere. Thus two of the largest portions of England, Mercia and Northumbria, were inhabited by rival peoples, under the rule of rival earls, jealous of the power of Harold; while his own brother was an outlaw, ready to take up arms against him should the opportunity offer. At this juncture, January, 1066, Eadward the Confessor died, and Harold, the strongest candidate, though not, according to Anglo-Saxon notions of heredity, the legitimate heir to the throne, was chosen by the witan as king.

47. England in 1066. — In the year 1066 England seemed to be in a condition bordering on anarchy. There existed no strong central authority powerful enough to bind together the different parts of the country; and the earls, though not independent, were exercising independent powers. They had practically made their earldoms hereditary; and each within his territory controlled the army, undertook expeditions and made war on his own account, received the revenues, and to some extent managed the church. The Mercians, Northumbrians, and East Anglians were jealous of the West Saxons and resented their leadership, and there was no true national unity in the land.

In different parts of the country a new relationship, as yet social rather than political in character, called feudalism, was beginning to appear. Eadward the Confessor had weakened his royal authority by granting to great ecclesiastical lords the right to try offences committed within their territories, and had freed them from the control of the royal officers. Churches were loaning portions of land to lay lords to hold for a fixed time in return for personal service. Some of these great lords, both ecclesiastical and lay, were controlling the hundred courts and were themselves receiving all the fines from those courts. Meanwhile men of humbler station had continued to seek the

protection of great lords and to take oaths of homage and fealty which bound each one to serve and defend his lord. Sometimes these men, who generally possessed small portions of land in the vills, pledged only their personal service, and kept their lands free from the lord's control; sometimes, when very evil days came upon them, they were compelled to place their lands as well as themselves in the hands of a lord, for the lord alone could furnish the food, seed, and cattle that they needed. In this case the freeman became a tenant of the lord, and owed not only personal service, but labor service and payments also. On the ecclesiastical estates this change in the condition of the old freemen had gone on more rapidly than elsewhere. Many villagers were already bound to work for their lord and to pay dues, and could not leave the land they cultivated. But a great variety of custom everywhere prevailed; many men were free to choose their lords as they pleased, and no central body exercised control over the local courts or looked after local government. These conditions, combined with the growing power of great families and local lords, made England liable to rebellion and anarchy. And they made desirable, even at great cost and misery, the coming of a stronger people, whose leaders were to exhibit a genius for organization that the Anglo-Saxons had never possessed.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER IV. — Freeman's *Norman Conquest* (1867–1877), Vols. I, II, is the best known authority for this period, but the work is long, diffuse, and difficult to read. A useful account is given in Freeman's *A Short History of the Norman Conquest*, pp. 10–54, and in the same author's *Old English History* (1871), pp. 186–296. Green's *Conquest of England* is in many respects far better. A suggestive chapter on industrial conditions before the Norman Conquest is given in Warner's *Landmarks*, Chap. I. For the decay in the life of the church, see Hunt, *History of the English Church*, Vol. I, pp. 381–415. Stubbs's *Constitutional History*, Vol. I, pp. 216–222, is brief on the political side, but contains a full and authoritative chapter (VIII) on the Anglo-Saxon church.

CHAPTER V.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

48. William the Conqueror. — No sooner had Harold been elected king of England than William, the duke of Normandy, presented his claims to the English throne. William was one of the greatest and most ambitious of the feudal lords of France. He had made of Normandy a united feudal duchy and had himself become a lord more mighty even than the king of France, who was at this time little more than a powerful feudal lord. William had no difficulty in finding reasons for an expedition against England. He claimed that the English crown was his, in the first place, because as cousin to the childless Eadward the Confessor, he had a better title to the throne of England than had Harold, who was only the king's brother-in-law; secondly, because on the occasion of a visit to England in 1051 Eadward had promised him the inheritance; and finally, because Harold himself, when some years before he had been wrecked on the coast of Normandy, had sworn over sacred relics to help him win the crown. These claims had no value constitutionally, for only the witan could control the succession, but they formed the only legal basis of William's position.

Very important for the Norman duke was the consent of the pope, who in the years from 1059 to 1073 was laying the foundations for the greatest of mediæval institutions — the mediæval papacy. Pope Alexander II was angry with Harold for supporting the secular clergy instead of the monks and for upholding the cause of Stigand, who had been uncanonically and

battle was fought. The Normans were formed in a triple line of feudal knights on horseback, with heavy-armed infantry before them, and archers and crossbowmen in the front line. The English under Harold consisted only of the huscarls, clad in helmets and armor, and bearing two-handed Danish axes. They formed a front line, protected, as they stood shoulder to shoulder, by a wall formed of their joined shields. Behind the huscarls were the light-armed levies of thegns and ceorls, carrying spears, sharpened stakes, and rude implements of agriculture; and on the crown of the hill was raised the standard of Harold, the golden dragon of Wessex. Against this solid mass William hurled his forces in vain. For six hours the battle raged, until at last, having failed to break the English ranks by charges of horsemen and showers of arrows, the Normans ordered a feigned flight in order to draw the English from their position. The ruse succeeded. While the light-armed English levies were pursuing the retreating foe, a body of Norman horsemen thrust themselves between the pursuers and the huscarls on the hill. Fiercely fighting to the last, the huscarls held out till evening, when Harold fell, mortally wounded, and the great battle was over.[1] The Normans were

[1] From 1892 to 1895 a "furious and famous" controversy took place regarding the accuracy of Freeman's account of the battle of Hastings. The chief points at issue were: (1) whether the name Senlac should or should not be substituted for that of Hastings; (2) whether Harold and his men did or did not erect a palisade in front of the line; (3) whether the light-armed levies were or were not placed on the flanks, instead of forming a solid mass in the rear. I have accepted the older version upheld by J. H. Round instead of that of Freeman, supported by Archer, Norgate, and Oman. To change at this late date the familiar name of a battle because in an account written seventy years after the battle was fought a name is found for the valley where the fight took place, seems to me to savor of affectation; to introduce a palisade, when only one writer, and he not a contemporary, mentions it, seems to me an unsafe historical method, particularly as the meaning of the one passage is by no means clear, and those who accept the account as trustworthy are by no means agreed as to what the writer means; to place the light-armed levies on the flanks is going counter to the known Anglo-Saxon practice of fighting in solid masses instead of in a long line, and is arranging a detail of the battle for which no evidence whatever can be obtained.



HIC : EST : WADARD : HIC : COQUITUR : CARO ET HIC : MINISTRAVERUNT MINISTRI

Here is Wadard. Here meat is cooked and here the servants serve.



[HIC : FRANCI PUGNANT ET CECI]DERUNT QUI ERANT : CUM HAROLDO : HIC [HAROLD : REX : INTERFECTUS : EST]

Here the French fight and those who were with Harold fell. Here King Harold was slain.

FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY.[1]

[1] The Bayeux Tapestry is a band of linen two hundred and thirty feet long by twenty inches wide, embroidered with scenes illustrating the Norman Conquest. The figures are worked with worsted of eight different colors. The Tapestry was probably completed during the life of William the Conqueror.

The portions reproduced above contain two important incidents of the invasion. The first shows a party of soldiers foraging for breakfast. The soldiers have driven the English from their square wooden houses and are bringing in sheep, oxen, and pigs. Of the mounted warrior, Wadard, little else is known. He carries a lasso and is interested in a footman who is bringing in a small pack horse. The next scene shows servants cooking the food seized. Two of them are suspending a large pot on forked sticks over a fire. Behind them on a shelf are fowls prepared for broiling. A baker is taking cakes from a stove.

The second portion contains a picture of the last stage of the battle, when the huscarls defend the brow of the hill. In the centre is one of the common soldiers. In the margin Norman archers may be seen. The armor of Normans and Saxons was practically the same, formed of flat rings sewed on a foundation of leather or cloth. The helmet was of steel, with a nose guard; the shield, kite-shaped; the weapons of the Normans were bows and arrows, lances, swords, and battle-axes; those of the Saxons, battle-axes and swords.

victorious at Hastings because they were better equipped and better disciplined than the English, who, though they knew how to fight, did not know how to manœuvre; and the victory is significant because in winning it the Normans displayed in military matters that same superiority which they were afterward to show in government and law as well.

51. Completion of the Conquest. — The flower of Wessex was slain at Hastings, and further resistance was useless. The earls of the north refused to come to the rescue, and without opposition, William marched toward London. There the witan had hastily elected the ætheling Eadgar, grandson of Eadmund Ironside, the last male descendant of the house of Alfred; but without an army Eadgar's position was untenable. After William, passing by London, had crossed the Thames at Wallingford and pitched his camp at Berkhamstead, Eadgar with his earls submitted, and the witan chose William for king. On Christmas day, 1066, the Norman duke was crowned in London by the archbishop of York, and became the legally elected king of southern England.

But what the south had done could not bind the north. Though Eadwine and Morkere submitted, and William returned to Normandy in 1067, the real conquest of England was only just begun. The very rivalries which had enabled William to conquer at Hastings now made slow and difficult the subjugation of the rest of the English; and had the earls stood by each other in this crisis, the conquest begun at Hastings might never have been completed, and William might never have been called the Conqueror. But the defeat of the south taught the north no lesson. William, on sailing for Normandy, had left as regents Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and William Fitz-Osbern, whose rule seemed oppressive to a people unaccustomed to any efficient centralization of power. Roused by the excesses of the Normans, the unconquered English rose in revolt. But there was no unity of plan or action: the men of Devon and Cornwall gathered about the sons of Harold; the Northumbrians took up the cause of the ætheling Eadgar and were

assisted by Malcolm III of the Scots, who in 1070 married Eadgar's sister Margaret; Sweyn of Denmark entered the struggle in his own behalf as the successor of Cnut; while in Mercia, a local thegn, Eadric, asserted his right to the Mercian earldom.

Such a variety of personal ambitions rendered hopeless the national cause. William, returning from Normandy in December, 1067, took up each contest in turn. Exeter submitted after a siege of eighteen days, and Devonshire and Cornwall were subdued. The trouble with Yorkshire and Lincolnshire was more serious. At first the shires seemed to yield, and a Norman earl was placed in authority over them. But the revolt in Yorkshire broke out afresh in 1069, and a bold attempt was made by Cospatric, the earl, acting in conjunction with the ætheling Eadgar and Malcolm his brother-in-law, to set up a separate kingdom in the north. William captured York, and in order finally to put down the rebellion, laid waste the country from the Humber to the Tees. Later he crossed the Tweed and forced Malcolm to become his vassal. This harrying of the north, whereby villages were burned and fields laid waste, broke the strength of the resistance, though it did not destroy the spirit of local independence; and William, respecting this feeling, was crowned a second time at York in 1069, as if he had become the king of a separate kingdom. This freedom of the northern borderland was for many centuries to be an important factor in the history of England.

By 1071 the last opposition was overcome. Eadric was driven into Wales, Cheshire and Shropshire were ravaged, and the famous struggle of the English under Hereward, a "man" of the abbot of Peterborough, among the marshes of Ely, was brought to an end.

52. Introduction of the Feudal Land System. — As fast as the Conqueror subjugated the territory he confiscated the lands of those who had fought against him, and either took them himself or distributed them among his followers, who held them in feudal tenure as vassals of the king. Some of the English, in all probability not a large number, who had neither fought

against him nor revolted, he allowed to redeem their lands and to hold them from him by the same tenure as before. Thus for the complicated land system of the English was substituted a perfectly simple arrangement, according to which all land was held feudally of the king. This land law, which was applied first in the south, was extended to the north, and no part of England escaped it. Two important features of this policy are to be noted: in the first place, these lands were now definitely held by military tenure, that is to say, each great vassal for the land that had been given to him was obliged to render to the king the service of a certain number of knights, and to lead them himself to war.[1] The number of knights to be furnished was not determined by the amount of land held by the great vassal, but was fixed arbitrarily by King William. The whole number thus furnished amounted to about five thousand knights,[2] who composed the army of the king. In the second place, the lands thus held were scattered over all England, so that no single great vassal had a very large amount in any one locality. This scattering of the vassal's lands, which was due not to any design of the Conqueror, but to the slowness of the conquest, saved England from one of the worst features of Continental feudalism. No man in England could become territorially powerful and independent, as had scores of great lords in France and Germany. The only portions of England that were at all independent were the great earldoms of the north, Cumberland, the southern portion of the old Strathclyde (Cumbria), and Northumberland, the Bernicia of the Saxon days. These border provinces, refusing to recognize the overlordship of either the Scottish or the English kings, were almost like independent states.

In still another way did English feudalism differ from that

[1] *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (Cheyney, "Documents Illustrative of Feudalism"), § VII, 1, 2, 3.

[2] Round, *Feudal England*, p. 292. Mr. Round's notable paper on "Knight Service in England" has radically altered opinions regarding feudalism in England.

of the Continent. In a great meeting held at Salisbury in 1086 William summoned all the landholders and made them swear allegiance to him as chief lord and king.[1] Thus he laid down the rule that every landholder in England, whosesoever vassal he might be, owed allegiance first to the king and then to his own lord, and that, therefore, no English vassal might follow his lord against his king. In so doing William violated the recognized feudal principle that a vassal owed allegiance to his immediate lord only. But he could do this without danger, because as king he was able to enforce a rule that as feudal lord he would hardly have dared to make.

Thus, while William the Conqueror introduced into England an advanced form of feudalism with a uniform land tenure and a regular knight service, he prevented feudalism in England from developing its worst aspects, — the territorial independence of great lords, and private war. It looks very much as if eventually England would have had all these evils had Anglo-Saxon conditions been allowed to take their course, though there is nothing to show that the Anglo-Saxons would ever have developed high feudal ideas regarding contract and tenure.[2]

53. William's Government. — As William introduced a uniform land system, so he established a strong and orderly central government. In Anglo-Saxon times the individual had not been under the direct control of any central authority, and this defect William remedied by creating such an authority.

William was himself at the same time conqueror, king, and paramount feudal lord, of whom all men held their lands. He was absolute in authority, a very different king from Eadward the Confessor or Harold. The administration that he established was simple and centralized. When he was absent,

[1] Lee, p. 120.

[2] For feudalism on the Continent, consult Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, Chap. XV; Robinson, *Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, Chap. IX; Munro, *A History of the Middle Ages*, Chap. V, and accompanying manual, pp. 19–21; Seignobos, *The Feudal Regime* (translated by Dow); Bémont and Monod, *Mediæval Europe* (translated by Sloane), especially pp. 250–267.

he placed the government temporarily in the hands of a justiciar, who was always an ecclesiastic, that the office of justiciar might not become hereditary. William had also a chancellor or secretary, as Eadward the Confessor had had, who wrote letters, issued writs, and kept the royal seals; and a treasurer, who received the royal revenue and was the guardian of the royal hoard. This hoard was located first at Winchester and afterward at Westminster, and consisted of coin, regalia, and jewels.[1] The treasurer probably disbursed money and audited the accounts, for a regular exchequer had not yet been established.

William had also a council, called the "great council," which in composition was probably not unlike the old Anglo-Saxon witan. It was composed of the officers already mentioned, together with others of the royal household and certain earls and bishops whom the king desired to summon. Its duties were chiefly judicial, though it also acted as an advisory body to the king. It cannot be said to have limited his authority, for it never opposed him; and the fact that its members were liable to be changed at the will of the king, prevented it from acting with any settled plan or policy.

54. Local Administration. — William did not interfere with local affairs, but his policy broke up the old earldoms, which had been a great danger to monarchy in Anglo-Saxon times. He reduced the office of earl to a merely honorary dignity, and gave chief power into the hands of the sheriff. In consequence, the position of sheriff increased tremendously in importance, and during the reign of the Norman kings was sought by men of high rank. The sheriff collected the revenues, sat in the shire court as its presiding officer, and summoned to war all the men of the shire, except the knights, who were, of course, led by their lords, the tenants-in-chief, at the demand of the king. The period of English history when the sheriff was

[1] Hall, *Antiquities of the Exchequer* (2d ed.), Chaps. I, III. The name 'exchequer' was derived from the checkered table, divided into squares, on which accounts were reckoned.

most important, fairly equalling the old earls in power, was during the reigns of the Norman kings. At a later time he abused his position and lost most of his authority.

Though William in substituting the sheriff for the earl strengthened the central authority, in other respects he left local institutions much as they had been before. He retained the laws of Eadward the Confessor, because he wished to reign as an English king.[1] He preserved the courts of the shire and the hundred, made the hundred responsible for the murder of Normans, enforced the custom of having witnesses present at the sales of cattle, required that every freeman should have a surety, and forbade the sale of men into slavery and punishment by mutilation.

55. Sources of Revenue. — The Norman kings were eager for money, and in their manner of obtaining it were hard masters. William, who, like the Anglo-Saxon kings, received revenues from the old royal lands, had obtained by confiscation a very large number of new lands in England. In addition to the income from this source, the king received the usual feudal payments from his tenants-in-chief; that is, from those who held their lands directly of him. He had also a share of the fines and fees from the courts of the shire and the hundred in all cases where the latter had not fallen into the hands of private persons; and he received all the fines and fees imposed by the great council, sitting usually three times a year. It was to the king's advantage that as many cases as possible should be brought before the great council, and we are not surprised that the pleas of the crown, that is, cases specially reserved for the king or his court, should have largely increased under the Normans. William was a famous hunter, and made severe forest laws, breaches of which brought in a large revenue.

Most valuable of all was the money received from the old Anglo-Saxon national land-tax, Danegeld, which William willingly renewed. Three times he levied it, and at the last time

[1] Lee, Nos. 45, 46; Henderson, *Documents*, pp. 7–8, especially § 7.

(1083–1084) made it six Norman shillings from each hide of land. It was an enormously heavy tax, though many lands were exempted from it. That the levy might be fair and systematic, he caused a great survey of the kingdom to be made. This, the most famous of all William's acts, resulted in the drawing up of Domesday Book, than which no single source of information for English history is more important.

56. Domesday Book.[1] — In 1085 William held a meeting of his councillors at Gloucester. As a result, commissioners were sent out into the shires to get information upon which to base the levying of the tax. The commissioners were instructed to go to each shire or county town and to summon before them the chief men of the shire, certain sworn freemen of each hundred, and villagers from each vill in the hundred — all for the purpose of answering questions. This method of inquiry was new to England. It had probably never been employed by the Anglo-Saxons, but was introduced by the Normans. Such an inquiry was called an *inquest*, and out of it two centuries later developed trial by jury.[2] The commissioners, remaining in the shire town, got all the information they could about the lands. They asked by whom the lands were held, how many hides there were to be taxed, what lands (as, for example, some of the old crown lands) were exempt from taxation, how many villeins there were, how many cattle, how many ploughs, and the like. They made the inquiry hundred by hundred and vill by vill.

When all had been finished and written down in Latin, the record was sent to the king at Westminster. There the

[1] Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 1–8; Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 1–26; Lee, No. 48; Colby, No. 15; Adams and Stephens, Nos. 3, 4; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Cheyney, "English Towns and Gilds"), pp. 2–5; Henderson, *Documents*, p. 76.

[2] I have made no effort to trace the history of trial by jury and the evolution of the modern procedure, a difficult and intricate matter. But the reader may be referred to Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* (2d ed.), Vol. II, pp. 598–656; Thayer, *A Preliminary Treatise on Evidence at the Common Law*, Part I, 1896; Medley, *Constitutional History;* Hill, *Liberty Documents.*

returns were entirely rearranged; the items were separated and set down, not as originally by hundreds and vills, but under the names of the tenants-in-chief who held the lands within each shire. The final form in which Domesday Book has come down to us is not geographical, but feudal. Thus it is clear that this book, though it throws a great deal of light upon local customs and local law, is a tax book, designed for the purpose of increasing the revenue of the king. But it is more. In its original form it is a witness to the continued existence of the old Saxon local institutions, the shire, the hundred, and the vill; while in its final form, though still preserving the division into shires, it emphasizes the new system of feudal tenures introduced by the Conqueror.

57. William and the Church. — The Norman Conquest affected the life of the church as well as of the state. The Anglo-Saxon church, though recognizing the superior jurisdiction of the Holy See, had been accustomed to manage its own affairs in its own councils and synods, and had preserved intact its national character. William had come to England with the blessing of the pope, and was morally bound not only to aid in elevating the church, but also to bring it more directly under the authority of the papacy. He began by removing the Anglo-Saxon bishops and replacing them with others from the Continent, trained in the ways of the Roman church and devoted to pope and king. Stigand was deposed, and Lanfranc made archbishop of Canterbury; and when a few years later the archbishop of York died, Thomas of Bayeux was given his place, and his diocese was made subordinate to that of Canterbury. This act, by making Lanfranc the sole head of the English church, strengthened the ecclesiastical unity of England.[1]

Lanfranc, the right-hand man of William the Conqueror, was not only a great theologian and a great disciplinarian, but he was also trained in law. He came to England ready to organize the church and to enforce many of the Cluniac

[1] Gee and Hardy, No. 13.

reforms, which Dunstan had tried to introduce. He and William worked heartily together. Lanfranc imposed celibacy upon the clergy, substituted, whenever the opportunity arose, the regular clergy (the monks) for the secular clergy (the priests), and encouraged the coming of monastic orders into England. He found many of the sees located in villages and small towns and caused them to be removed to the cities, where the bishop might enjoy the benefits of urban life.

Lanfranc took another and more important step. He wished to make the church independent of the state organization, and to that end persuaded the king to issue an ordinance which had a very important effect upon the later history of the English church. We can understand this ordinance when we remember that in Anglo-Saxon times there were no separate ecclesiastical courts, but that the bishops sat with the ealdormen in the shiremôt, where ecclesiastical as well as civil cases were heard. William's ordinance said that hereafter bishops and archdeacons were to deal, in courts of their own, with such ecclesiastical cases as had hitherto come before the hundred court; and that, too, not according to local custom or the law of the hundred, but according to canon and episcopal laws. Here we see the result of Lanfranc's legal training. The English church was thenceforth to have separate courts and to be governed by canon or church law, while the clergy were to become a distinct order by themselves.[1]

But William was not willing that either church or pope should limit his own power as king of England and of Englishmen. He refused to do homage to Gregory VII.[2] Though he continued the old Anglo-Saxon payment to Rome of a penny on every hearth (Peter's pence), he forbade that any one in his kingdom should acknowledge a new pope or should receive any

[1] Lee, No. 52; Gee and Hardy, No. XVI; Adams and Stephens, No. 1; Henderson, *Documents*, p. 9. The ordinance says nothing of the shire courts. The bishops continued to sit there certainly till 1108.

[2] Letter of William I (1079?) to Gregory VII, Lee, No. 50; Gee and Hardy, No. XV. A letter of Gregory's written in 1080 is given in Colby, No. 14.

papal letters without his consent. He would not allow the English clergy in their separate convocation to decide anything unless he agreed to it, and he would not suffer the church to try publicly or to excommunicate any of his barons or officers without first referring the matter to him.[1] Thus even while he strengthened the papal authority he kept it well under control, and himself regulated ecclesiastical affairs within his own dominion.

58. General Character of the Norman Conquest. — The Norman Conquest marks the introduction into England of new ideas and practices in land tenure, military service, government, and church organization, due in large part to the personal influence of the Conqueror and his advisers. But indirectly it brought about changes that were social and economic as well. The introduction of a new land law and military service created a feudal hierarchy, extending from the king at the top, through the earls and barons, to the knight at the bottom, each man holding his land of some one above him. Whereas in Anglo-Saxon times there had been only two or occasionally three persons between the king and the land, in Norman times the number sometimes rose to eight or nine.[2] Thus what is called the "feudal structure" became more elaborate and weighty. The social arrangement of Anglo-Saxon times was changed, and a separation began between the upper and the lower classes, which was to continue for four centuries.

The effect of the Conquest upon the condition of those below the feudal class, that is, the inhabitants of the vills, was equally marked.[3] The introduction of feudal tenure, and the heavy taxes which William imposed, decreased the number of small, independent holdings, led to the formation of great manorial estates, and brought many free and lordless villages under the control of Norman lords. More villagers than ever, those on lay

[1] Lee, No. 51; Gee and Hardy, No. XVII.

[2] *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (Cheyney, "Documents Illustrative of Feudalism"), pp. 21–22.

[3] For contemporary, or nearly contemporary, opinion of William and the Normans, see Lee, Nos. 46, 47; Colby, Nos. 13, 16; and Kendall, Nos. 14, 15, 16.

as well as those on ecclesiastical estates, were forced to perform services, to make payments to their lords, to be bound to the soil, — that is, to become what we know as villeins. This process was not complete until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The Norman Conquest brought England, the English people, and the English church out of isolation into the current of Continental life. It introduced symmetry, simplicity, and consolidation into English government and law. It brought into conflict on English soil two rival peoples, differing in language and customs, the fusion of whom was not to be effected for a century and a half. It hastened the depression of the peasantry, and worked hardship for great masses of the population. And, lastly, the possession of Normandy and of other Frankish fiefs, which were acquired later and which the English kings held as vassals of the French king, brought upon England some of the evils of Frankish feudalism. The Conquest was bad as well as good for England; but the harm was only temporary, the good permanent.

59. William II. — Had the Norman kings been able to hand on the crown without dispute from father to son, as the French kings were doing, the history of the English monarchy might have been different. But the weakness of the Normans lay in a disputed succession and in the quarrels to which it gave rise, and of this weakness the people of England were to take full advantage in their struggle to check the growing power of their kings.

William the Conqueror, at his death in 1087, left Normandy to his eldest son, Robert. To his second son, William, called Rufus, he left the English crown; and to his third son, Henry, he left a hoard of money. William Rufus, fearing an uprising of the Norman barons in favor of Robert, threw himself on the support of the English, and with the aid of Lanfranc, obtained a legal election in 1087. In return, he promised better laws and lighter taxes. But after Lanfranc's death, in 1089, he forgot his coronation oath and gave way to his evil passions. With Ranulf Flambard as his minister, he employed every device to obtain money, exercising mercilessly his feudal rights,

and demanding exorbitant payments.[1] He also kept vacant the see of Canterbury, and took the revenues himself for four years. Finally, in 1093, falling sick, he repented, and appointed as archbishop the saintly Anselm, who had been Lanfranc's successor at Bec. But recovering, he again forgot his oath, and continued his evil course. The burden of his feudal exactions fell chiefly upon the holders of great estates, who were in the main of Norman stock; while his tampering with the management of the local courts, the buying and selling of justice, and the pardoning of criminals for a bribe, caused great hardship among the masses of the people, the native English. The great landholders, in their turn seeking from their tenantry reimbursement for their losses, increased the popular distress. No one mourned when, in 1100, William was killed while hunting in the New Forest, which his father had created.[2]



WILLIAM RUFUS.

From Vertue's engraving, based apparently on the rude coin-portraits of his reign.

[1] Lee, No. 54.

[2] The death of William Rufus in the New Forest was looked upon by the old chroniclers as a judgment of heaven because William the Conqueror in creating the Forest "had reduced a flourishing district to make room for the deer." Efforts have been made to show that the chroniclers exaggerated the suffering wrought by the Conqueror, and even Freeman believed that the account was overdrawn (*Norman Conquest*, Vol. IV, 2d ed., pp. 858–859). But Mr. Baring has shown that the story is substantially true. He demonstrates from a careful study of the evidence of *Domesday Book* that the Forest must have covered more than one hundred thousand acres, of which seventy-five thousand was woodland and had never been inhabited. From the remainder, however, William cleared at least twenty villages and a dozen hamlets, and drove out at least two thousand men, women, and children. It is not improbable that

60. Henry I. — The reign of William Rufus was for the barons and the church an experience which stood them in good stead when Henry, the third son of William the Conqueror, came to the throne. In order to forestall the claims of his elder brother, Robert, Henry hastened to London and demanded the crown. After some opposition, he was elected king, August 5, 1100. Then, in order to strengthen his position, he wrote a letter to Anselm, who had fled from William Rufus in 1097, calling him back to England.[1] At the same time he promised to respect the laws of Eadward the Confessor,[2] and most important of all, issued a charter of liberties[3] from which we can obtain a pretty clear idea of the evil practices of William Rufus.



HENRY I.
From engraving based on coin-portrait of the king.

King Henry bound himself to respect the freedom of the church and to leave unmolested church revenues during a vacancy; to exact reasonable and just feudal dues; to establish peace and the laws of Eadward in the kingdom; and he demanded that his barons

the actual number of those evicted was greater; it certainly was not less (*E. H. R.*, 1901, pp. 436–437).

[1] Gee and Hardy, No. XVIII.

[2] This promise of Henry I, and similar promises of his successors, led law writers and antiquarians of the time to try to find out what the early laws were. Latin versions of these laws were written between 1108 and the end of the century for this purpose, and called by such titles as *The Laws of Henry I, The Laws of Eadward the Confessor, The Laws of William the Conqueror*, which were largely compilations by the antiquarians themselves.

[3] Lee, No. 55; Colby, No. 19; Adams and Stephens, No. 7; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I. No. 6 (Cheyney, "English Constitutional Documents"), p. 4; Kendall, No. 17.

should treat their vassals as he was treating them. He imprisoned Ranulf Flambard, whom Rufus had made bishop of Durham; and in order to bind the English more closely to him, married Edyth, whom the Normans called Matilda, daughter of Malcolm of Scotland, the youngest and the last of the house of Alfred.

61. Henry and Normandy. — During the first nine years of his reign, Henry had great trouble because of Normandy. His elder brother, Robert, returned in 1100 from the First Crusade, and was welcomed by a considerable party of Norman lords who supported his claim to the throne. Ranulf Flambard, whose evil influence had not yet ended, escaped in February, 1101, and fleeing to Normandy, urged the earl to invade England. The opposition to Henry was a powerful one. In France, Louis VI, the first king to create a strong French monarchy, aided Robert, hoping to weaken the Norman house by encouraging war between its leading members. In England, Robert of Belesme was prepared to give help.

But Henry acted with characteristic energy and was aided by his English as well as by his Norman followers. With a bribe of three thousand marks a year, he bought off Robert, who had already shown his eagerness for money by mortgaging his fief to William Rufus in 1096. He struck down the powerful Robert of Belesme in 1101 and drove him from the kingdom. By this act he became master at home. He then crossed the channel in 1104 and subdued "almost all the castles and the chief men" in the land of Normandy. Finally, on September 25, 1106, he won the battle of Tinchebrai against his brother, who had renewed the conflict, and Robert of Belesme, who had spent his time in Normandy stirring up strife. Henry became master of Normandy on the anniversary of Stamford Bridge, fought by Harold forty years before. The struggle bound more closely Norman king and English people, and promoted that unity which was to make of two peoples one nation.

62. The Investiture Struggle. — While Henry was warring with the feudal lords, a new and important issue was arising

with the church. This issue was not peculiar to England, but was part of a great Continental movement, which had its origin in the efforts made by a series of popes, of whom the greatest was Gregory VII (1073–1085), to reform the church, to separate it from secular control, and to make its authority universally recognized in temporal as well as in spiritual affairs.[1] England had already felt in the days of Dunstan the early effects of this movement; Lanfranc had continued the work under William the Conqueror; and now Anselm was to stand forward as the powerful representative of the position that the popes were taking. For three centuries lay lords (emperors, kings, and feudal barons) had been accustomed to invest archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastics, who were at the same time their feudal vassals, not only with their lands but also with the ring and the staff, symbols of their spiritual office. Gregory VII determined to put an end to this encroachment on the rights of the church, and entered into a bitter struggle with the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Henry IV.[2] This struggle, which is one of the most dramatic events of the Middle Ages, was not ended on the Continent until 1122, when Henry V and Calixtus II agreed on a compromise called the Concordat of Worms.

Anselm had asserted the independence of the church during the reign of William Rufus, when he refused to receive the *pallium*,[3] a spiritual symbol, from the hands of the king. Because of the quarrel that followed, Anselm fled from England in 1097. Soon after his return, in accordance with instructions from Rome, he renewed the struggle over the question of investiture with the ring and the staff. From 1102 to 1107 the archbishop refused to recognize the king's

[1] Robinson, *Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, Chap. XVI.

[2] Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, Chaps. VII–VIII; Henderson, *Documents*, pp. 365–409; Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, Chap. VII.

[3] The *pallium* is a band of white lamb's wool, embroidered with black crosses, and with two pendants attached. It is the chief badge of the archbishop's authority and is granted only by the pope.

right of investiture, and twice, in 1102 and 1103, was exiled from England because he would not do homage and receive investiture for his see. But king and archbishop were not enemies, and there were reasons on each side why a compromise should be effected. Henry was involved in war with his brother and wanted the aid of Anselm and the English people; the pope, Paschal, was in the thick of his quarrel with the emperor Henry V, who had married King Henry's only legitimate daughter, Matilda, and did not care to force Anselm to take extreme measures. So a compromise was reached: the king gave up the right of investiture with ring and staff, and Anselm agreed that bishops should do homage to the king for the lands that they held.[1] The rapidity and ease with which this result was obtained, as contrasted with the bitterness of the Continental strife, shows us the greater harmony existing in England between the king and the church. The resistance of Anselm showed Henry that, though an absolute king in claim, he was in reality already limited by the freedom of the church and the independence of his people.

63. Administration under Henry. — Henry made few changes in matters of administration; and government under him was about the same as it had been under William the Conqueror. In central administration the justiciar now became, however, a permanent officer, and out of the great council a small council of barons was created for financial and judicial purposes. When dealing with finances this body took the name of the Exchequer, and sat twice a year, at Easter and Michaelmas; when rendering justice it was called the *curia regis*, or king's court. This court dealt with important cases only and left smaller matters entirely in the hands of the local courts, which Henry ordered to be held as in the days of King Eadward. At times the king sent one or more of the members of this Exchequer and king's court into the counties to look after the revenues and to hear the pleas of the crown. But very little

[1] Lee, No. 57; Gee and Hardy, No. XX.

had been done as yet to centralize justice. What Henry did simply prepared the way for the greater work of the second Henry.

64. Stephen's Claim to the Throne. — Henry died in 1135 without a legitimate male heir to succeed him. His sons had been lost in the sinking of the "White Ship" in 1120,[1] and a second marriage soon after had not brought him the desired heir. In 1126 he had called his widowed daughter, Matilda, back to England and had secured her recognition by the barons as heir to the throne. Matilda, therefore, based her right



LOSS OF THE WHITE SHIP.
From an illuminated manuscript.[2]

[1] Colby, No. 20.

[2] The genealogy reads as follows: —

Henricus primus genuit — Wilhelmum qui periit in mari — Ricardum qui periit in mari — Matildam Imperatricem — matrem — Ricardi qui obiit — Henrici Regis Secundi.

Henry First begot — William who perished in the sea — Richard who perished in the sea — Matilda the Empress — mother — of Richard who died — (and) of Henry Second king.

to the throne on her descent and on the oaths sworn by the barons.

Her claim was strenuously disputed by Stephen of Blois, Count of Boulogne, who was the son of Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, and therefore nephew of Henry I. Stephen, being near at hand, at Boulogne, hastened in 1135 to England. There the people and the barons, reluctant to see a woman on the throne of England, accepted him as king. Stephen was informally elected at London, and then, after seizing the royal castle and treasury at Winchester, returned to London to be crowned at the hands of the church. Matilda in despair appealed to Rome early in 1136; but the pope, influenced by legates sent by Stephen to support his cause, despatched a letter to Stephen, confirming him in the possession of his kingdom. Thus Stephen based his title to the throne upon election and coronation, and upon his confirmation by the pope. In return he confirmed the good laws and customs of his uncle, and of Eadward the Confessor,[1] and in a second charter promised to respect the liberty of the church.[2]

65. Civil War between Stephen and Matilda: First Period. — The struggle that followed between the two claimants to the crown is the nearest approach that we have in English history to the feudal anarchy which had prevailed in France. For eighteen years England became a battle-ground for feudal lords who viewed Stephen as a king suffered to rule while his treasure lasted or he maintained their feudal interests. As long as Stephen kept his oath to the people, the church, and the lords, so long would they support him, but no longer. We are not surprised, therefore, in the war which followed, that the great lords were ready to go from one side to the other as they pleased, and to follow the party that would offer them the greatest rewards.

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 10.

[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 11; Gee and Hardy, No. XXII.

The war may be divided into two parts: the first extending to the defeat of Stephen in 1141, and the second to the treaty of Wallingford in 1154. After Stephen had spent the treasure of his uncle, and it became evident that he could not keep all his promises, discontent increased, and the cause of Matilda became the rallying-point of the enemies of the king. In 1138 David, king of the Scots, Matilda's uncle, to whose reign may be traced the beginnings of a united Scotland, invaded England. Stephen was engaged in a struggle in the south with Robert of Gloucester, Matilda's half-brother, and it was left to the men of Yorkshire to meet the invader. This they did in the battle of the Standard (1138), where, rallying about the banners of their northern churches, they drove back the Scots with great slaughter. Stephen, strengthened by this victory, struggled against the rapidly growing rebellion in the south, where one after another the Norman earls were uniting against him.

Stephen was brave but without resources, and his condition drove him to desperation. He debased the coinage, imported mercenaries, and raised up new earls, such as Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, to aid him. Surrounded by danger, he even suspected the clergy, and in 1139 arrested Roger of Salisbury, chancellor of England, and the latter's nephews, Nigel, bishop of Ely, and Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, his own supporters and ministers. Thus Stephen completed the alienation of lords and clergy at the very moment when Matilda, arriving in England for the first time, placed herself at the head of her own cause. Stephen was defeated and captured at the battle of Lincoln in 1141, and Matilda was chosen Lady of England (*Anglorum domina*, a feudal title), by the barons, April 7–8, 1141. They did not, however, succeed in crowning her queen at Westminster, as in all probability they had intended to do.

66. Second Period of the Struggle. — The great barons struggling for power now began to quarrel with one another, and feudal anarchy broke loose. The building of castles, which had

begun with the Norman Conquest, went on with great rapidity The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* pictures graphically the misery of the land.[1] Some men were beaten and tortured, others died of hunger; towns were plundered and burnt, churches destroyed, monks and priests robbed. "The earth bare no corn ... and it was openly said that Christ and his saints slept." But Stephen's degradation was short. His queen was able to raise reënforcements in Kent, took Robert of Gloucester prisoner, and effected by exchange the release of the king. Matilda, who by her haughtiness had offended her followers, could gain no new support. Her old allies died, Miles of Hereford in 1143, Robert of Gloucester in 1147. Then at last she herself, despairing of further success, withdrew from the struggle and retired to the Continent.



STEPHEN.

From Vertue's engraving, based apparently on the rude coin-portraits of his reign.

Stephen reigned for five years in comparative peace. But Matilda's cause was not lost. Her son Henry, son of her second husband, Geoffrey of Anjou, had visited England once in 1142, and remained four years. He returned in 1149 to renew the struggle for his mother, but met with little success. After his return to France in 1150 his power vastly increased. He was invested with Normandy by his mother in 1151, and soon after by the death of his father received Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. In 1152 he married Eleanor of Aquitaine, whom Louis VII of France had foolishly divorced, and received as her dowry the duchy of Aquitaine. Thus he was

[1] Colby, No. 21; Kendall, No. 18.

the most powerful feudal lord in France, when in 1153 he prepared to take final issue with Stephen in a struggle for the English crown.

67. Treaty of Wallingford. — Henry landed in England in June, 1153, and civil war again seemed imminent. But the barons were unwilling to resort to arms. In the eighteen years that had passed since the struggle began a new generation of men had arisen. Normans and English had become fused into one people, and a strong desire for peace everywhere prevailed. Eustace, the son of Stephen, died in 1153, and the way was thus prepared for a peaceful settlement. At Wallingford negotiations were begun and the treaty finally signed in 1154. Stephen adopted Henry as his heir, and Henry in his turn recognized the right of Stephen to reign peacefully as long as he lived. This compact was maintained. Stephen remained king of England till his death in October, 1154, and Henry was crowned at Winchester the December following.

68. Results of Stephen's Reign. — The reign of Stephen, though outwardly a time of war and chaos, was in some respects marked by a steady development. The two peoples, Normans and English, suffering the same miseries, fighting the same battles, Normans often leading English levies and English knights following Norman lords, were becoming one. The church in England, as on the Continent, was not only maintaining her independence, but also was advancing her claims to control the election of the king and to interfere in temporal affairs. The towns, engaging in commerce and thereby growing in wealth and power, were becoming places of refuge for the oppressed and objects of interest to future kings who desired to increase the wealth of the kingdom. Most important of all, the evils of an unrestrained feudalism, the rise to prominence of new and more lawless feudal lords, and the steady descent of the villager class into a deeper serfdom, taught men severe lessons and made them more eager to accept the rule of a strong king, despotic though he might be. On this account the English welcomed the coming of Henry II

and supported loyally his projects for the elevation of monarchy and the reduction of the powers of feudalism.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER V.—Freeman, in his *Norman Conquest* and *William Rufus* (1882), has covered the ground from the point of view of the chroniclers. Hunt's *Norman Britain* (1884) is a capital piece of work. Maitland, in *Domesday Book and Beyond*, Essay I, has viewed the Conquest as a "red thread" dividing into two parts the legal and economic history of England. Round, in *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (1892), *Feudal England* (1895), and *The Commune of London* (1899), has used a wholly different class of documentary material — charters, deeds, rolls, and the like — from that employed by Freeman, and has displayed masterly skill in correcting older statements and in gathering new information. Green's *Conquest of England* continues to 1071; Ramsey's *Foundations of England*, to 1154; Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law* (1895, 2d ed. 1899) is invaluable. The second volume (by Stephens, 1901) of *A History of the English Church* carries the subject to 1272. Stubbs's *Constitutional History* still continues to be the great authority; and the first two chapters of his *The Early Plantagenets* (1891) furnishes an excellent résumé. For Continental history, see Emerton's *Mediæval Europe*, Robinson's *Introduction*, Munro's *Mediæval History*, and Bémont and Monod's *Mediæval Europe* (translated, 1902). The best work on the Crusades in a single volume is that of Archer and Kingsford (Stories of Nation Series).

CHAPTER VI.

HENRY II AND HIS SONS.

69. Henry II restores Peace. — Henry II was more than king of England: he was feudal lord of half of France, and was connected, by blood or marriage, with the chief princes of Europe. During the thirty-five years of his reign he spent all together but thirteen in England, and was never there for more than two years and a half at a time. The centre of his activity was France, where he was maintaining his feudal claims, though he never failed to recognize the prime importance of his English kingdom.[1] He was a man of unbounded activity, a clear-headed statesman and lawgiver, and an ambitious ruler. He was, it is true, rash, intemperate, and licentious, but his private excesses interfered little with his political ambitions. He chose excellent councillors and was always ready to accept advice.[2]

In the treaty of Wallingford, Henry had promised to set the kingdom right again, and as soon as he was crowned, began to restore order and peace. He issued a very brief charter confirming the charter of Henry I,[3] and at the same time began a series of important reforms. He drove the Flemish mercenaries out of England, ordered that all illegal castles should be razed to the ground, and took steps to recover the royal estates that had been given away both by Stephen and Matilda in their attempts to gain followers. Such resistance as he met with he overcame. The rebellion of Hugh of Mortimer, who

[1] Stubbs, *Early Plantagenets*, p. 37. [2] Kendall, No. 19.

[3] *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6 (Cheyney, "English Constitutional Documents"), p. 6.

held out longest, was suppressed in the summer of 1155, and from this time for nearly twenty years no serious rebellion occurred. With England pacified, Henry turned his attention to Wales, and after his return from Anjou, in 1157, made an attempt to subdue that land. But before he had accomplished anything he was called back to France in 1158, and there for five years was occupied in consolidating his feudal possessions. He settled complicated feudal claims, effected alliances and marriages in the interests of peace, and carried on wars with those that denied his feudal pretensions. Little wonder that his mind was not always on English affairs.



HENRY II.
From Vertue's engraving, based on an effigy of the king at Fontevrault in Anjou, where he was buried.

70. Henry's Administration: Strengthening of the Central Government. — Henry's frequent absences made necessary such changes in administration as would enable the government to go on without him. England was comparatively small and compact, many of the dangerous feudal lords had been slain or had died, and most of the leading men sympathized with Henry in his determination to erect a strong central government. The king selected laymen as his justiciars, Richard de Lucy and Robert of Leicester, and invested them with almost regal power. Under them the same officers existed as in the days of Henry I. The small board

of barons, called the Exchequer when performing financial duties, and the king's court (*curia regis*) when exercising judicial functions, continued their semi-annual meetings. But the treasurer of the Exchequer now became permanent, and under him was organized a staff of expert clerks, who did the routine work and remained at Westminster for a much longer time than did the barons. To this permanent board the sheriffs brought the revenues from each shire, which included the revenues from the royal estates, the proceeds from fines, the Danegeld when levied, and the money arising from marriages, wardships, aids, and other feudal dues.

Under Henry II the sheriff became the most important of those officials in the kingdom that had to do with local administration. He was always appointed by the king, and was generally one of the great lords of the shire whose revenues he collected and in whose court he sat. There were reasons why he might easily become dangerous to the king. Personally he was possessed of great estates within the district he administered; while as sheriff he was invested by the king with great authority, often obtained the control of more than one shire, and, in some instances at least, succeeded in making his office hereditary. He was rapidly becoming a great local autocrat.

It was in order to place a check upon the sheriffs that Henry continued his grandfather's policy of sending occasionally one or more of his barons of the Exchequer or of the king's court into the shires. The duty of these barons was at first to watch the sheriffs to see that the lands were justly assessed and the revenues collected, and to hear those few cases that the king would not allow to be settled in the local courts.[1] Thus in matters of finance and justice the king was beginning to increase the power of the central authority. In so doing he was lessening the power obtained by the feudal lords during the anarchy of Stephen's reign.

[1] For a case of this character, see Adams and Stephens, No. 12, and for later examples, *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6 (Cheyney, "English Constitutional Documents"), pp. 24–25.

71. Scutage. — To the same end Henry encouraged a practice that had grown up, affecting the most important of the feudal obligations, the duty of military service. It will be remembered that William the Conqueror had required of his tenants-in-chief not only personal service, but also a certain number of knights for the feudal army. The king's great vassals generally got these knights by letting out a portion of the land which they held of the king to sub-vassals, on condition that the latter follow them when required in the service of the king. This sub-letting of land was called subinfeudation, and was begun soon after the Conquest.

But sometimes the great vassals were not able or did not wish to subinfeudate enough land to meet their obligation to the king, and had to hire extra knights to make up the number required of them. This practice of hiring soldiers led many of the knights, who held land of a tenant-in-chief on condition of military service, to desire to commute that service for a money payment to be made directly to the king. The money thus paid by the knight in lieu of military service was called *scutage*. Such payment was wholly contrary to feudal principle, which demanded in every case a personal service, and it is interesting to note that the tenants-in-chief themselves were never allowed to pay scutage, but were always compelled to serve, or, in case of refusal, to pay a heavy fine.

However, the king favored the payment by the knights because the feudal army could not be compelled to serve for more than forty days at a time, and was always more or less unreliable. Thus in 1156, on the occasion of the Welsh war, Henry II accepted a scutage from the tenants of the ecclesiastical lords; and in 1159, when about to undertake an expedition to Toulouse, extended the custom to the tenants of the lay lands also.

The growth of the practice soon altered the character of the knights, who henceforth ceased to be soldiers and became landowners and farmers, devoting themselves to agriculture and to the affairs of the shire and the shire court. Thus

scutage not only broke down the feudal military system, but it also led to the rise of a new class of small landowners who were to play a very important part in English history as knights of the shire.

At this juncture Henry was interrupted in his work by a famous quarrel with the church, which illustrates his determination to make the state supreme in ecclesiastical matters also.

72. Henry's Quarrel with the Church: Thomas à Becket. — From 1154 to 1163 Henry had met with no serious obstacles in the task of governing England, but in the latter year trouble arose with the church in the person of Thomas à Becket. Becket was born in 1117, and when twenty-one years of age entered the service of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. There he applied himself to the study of canon law, newly introduced into England. He rose rapidly in preferment, and when Henry II came to the throne, was made chancellor of England. In this position he served his king loyally, even against the clergy themselves. His life became luxurious. He surrounded himself with courtiers, and entertained sumptuously, drawing his revenues from the numerous benefices that he held. He was a minister after the heart of the king.[1]

On the death of Theobald, in 1161, Henry wished to make Becket primate of England. Becket resisted, knowing that as archbishop he must serve, not the king, but the pope, the head of the church. Henry persisted. In 1162 he forced Becket's election as archbishop of Canterbury, believing that he would find in him as faithful an ally as William I had found in Lanfranc. But he made a grievous mistake. No sooner had Becket taken the oath of office than his whole life changed. He threw off pride and luxury, and became humble and austere, giving up his former companions and surrounding himself with studious and pious ecclesiastics. The effect of this soon appeared in his relations with the king. Becket had resigned his chancellorship on becoming archbishop, and was now de-

[1] Kendall, No. 20.

termined to defend at every point the entire independence of the clergy.[1]

73. The Constitutions of Clarendon. — The test of the situation[2] came when Henry undertook a new reform that touched the privileges of the church. William I had given the church separate ecclesiastical courts in which clerks[3] only could be tried. No matter if a clerk had been guilty of most grievous crimes, such as murder, robbery, seduction, attempts at poison, and the like, he could not be tried in the civil courts. Too often guilty clerks had gone free or suffered no heavier punishment than degradation or excommunication, the only penalties that the church could inflict. This abuse Henry determined to remedy by making clerks subject to the royal courts.[4] But Becket answered that ecclesiastics ought to be exempt from all temporal justice. His statement was based, not on old custom, but on the recent claims, that the church was everywhere making, of entire independence from the control of the state. Henry, enraged at



BRONZE KNOCKER.

This knocker is on the sanctuary door on the north side of the nave of the cathedral of Durham. A fugitive seeking sanctuary used this knocker in order to obtain admittance.

[1] Kendall, No. 21.

[2] The Woodstock event, July, 1163, upon which writers have laid much stress (as for example, Gardiner, pp. 143–144; Lee, No. 58), has been reëxamined by Mr. Round (*Feudal England*, pp. 497–502), who declares that the tax in dispute was not Danegeld, but sheriff's aid. Though the matter is not proven, historians can no longer present Becket on this occasion as a national leader resisting a national tax.

[3] "Clerk" was the name for any ecclesiastic of this time, — bishop, priest, or deacon.

[4] Lee, No. 59.

Becket's resistance, assembled the court at Clarendon and requested Becket to assent to a "recognition of some part of the customs, liberties, and dignities of his ancestors." Becket not knowing, because no one knew, exactly what these customs were, yielded for the sake of peace and promised to accept them. Then a commission was appointed to draw up a record of these customs. The report of this committee is now known as the Constitutions of Clarendon.[1]

Becket was called upon to agree to the following: (1) that a clerk accused of a crime should first be summoned before a temporal court and there be charged with his guilt, that he should then be tried, convicted, and degraded in an ecclesiastical court, and thus having been unfrocked and become a layman should be brought back to the temporal court and be given a layman's punishment, mutilation or death;[2] (2) that no one should leave the kingdom without the permission of the king or without taking oath not to do anything to the injury of the king or the kingdom; (3) that none of the king's tenants or ministers should be excommunicated or his lands placed under interdict without the consent of the king or his justiciar; (4) that an appeal in an ecclesiastical matter should be from an archdeacon's court to the bishop's court, then to the archbishop's court, and finally, not to the pope, but to the king; (5) that archbishops and bishops, who held land of the king, should be liable to all the obligations of a secular character thereby incurred and should sit in the king's court in all cases except such as involved mutilation or death; (6) that a consecrated church or cemetery, usually a sanctuary for a criminal, could not be used to protect goods forfeited to the king.

Nearly all these clauses simply defined the relations of

[1] Lee, No. 60; Adams and Stephens, No. 13; Gee and Hardy, No. XXIII; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6 (Cheyney, "English Constitutional Documents"), p. 26; Henderson, *Documents*, p. 11.

[2] Maitland, "Henry II and the Criminous Clerks," *E. H. R.*, 1892, reprinted in *Canon Law in the Church of England*, pp. 132–147. Also, for a clear statement of the difficulty, Stephens's *History of the English Church*, Vol. II, p. 168.

church and state as they had been in the days of William the Conqueror. But the claims of the mediæval church had changed in the interval since William's reign, and Becket, as archbishop, could not consent to a return to the old conditions. The quarrel between Henry and Becket was due to the fact that the former was standing for the customs of his ancestors, the latter for the new claims of the church.

74. Becket's Exile and Death. — Becket, after long consideration, definitely refused to accept the constitutions, because he deemed them to be a code of law binding the church. Henry, exceedingly angry, called a council at Northampton, October 7, 1164, and summoned the archbishop to answer certain trumped-up charges concerning his lands and the management of the money in his possession when chancellor. After four exciting days, Becket fled from England in disguise and entered into voluntary exile, destined to last for six years. The pope, Alexander, was engaged in a conflict with the emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, who had set up an anti-pope, and did not dare excommunicate Henry, whose daughter had married the pope's ally and Frederick's enemy, Henry the Lion. Therefore Becket fought the battle almost alone. But he fought well. He refused to institute bishops chosen since his departure, excommunicated the chief advisers of the king, encouraged Louis VII of France, with whom he found refuge, to war against his vassal, the English king, and finally persuaded Alexander, victorious over the anti-pope and angered at Henry's obstinacy, to threaten England with an interdict (1170).

Henry, yielding in part, became reconciled first with Louis VII and then with Becket. The latter returned to England, but refused to abandon his aggressive policy. He excommunicated the bishops of London and Salisbury, and suspended the bishop of Durham and the archbishop of York, who had dared to crown Henry's son in his absence (1170). The bishops fled to Henry, who was in France, and told their tale. Henry in angry despair cried out, "Is there no one

among all the cowards whom I have nourished who will rid me of this miserable clerk?" Unwilling to act illegally, he summoned a council, which deemed Becket deserving of death.

But the matter had already been taken out of his hands. Four knights, hearing the king's words, had sought out Becket at Canterbury and there murdered him.[1] This act raised Becket to the place of a martyr and turned the world against Henry. With the greatest difficulty, and only after many amends, did he turn aside in 1172 the papal excommunication. Later, by the concessions of 1176 he practically annulled some of the most important of the constitutions of Clarendon.[2] The long and deep humiliation of the king was but the preface to a period of sorrow and trouble which ended with his death.

75. Feudal Reaction against Henry. — The struggle with the church brought matters to a head in political affairs also. The resistance of Becket was to find its counterpart in an attempt of the feudal lords to check the rapidly growing power of the king and to recover the position they had had under Stephen.

That such a reaction should take place was natural enough. The rise of monarchy both in England and France was necessarily accompanied with attempts of the feudal lords to regain their privileges and to prevent the centralization of power in the hands of the king. The murder of Becket, which seemed to be only another act of royal despotism, deepened the anger of the English baronage, while the humiliation of the king seemed to offer a favorable opportunity for an expression of their discontent. Already aroused by the financial and judicial measures thus far taken, they were still further incensed at this time by what appeared to be, and in fact was, a further attack upon their prerogatives. Since the Conquest they had practically controlled the office of sheriff, but now that was to

[1] Lee, No. 61; Colby, No. 23.

[2] Medley, *English Constitutional History*, pp. 566–567.

be taken from them. In 1170, when Henry returned to England, he was greeted with so many complaints of the tyranny of the sheriffs that he immediately instituted an inquiry into their conduct.[1] As a result, he deprived the majority of the barons of their positions and placed in their stead men of lower rank, who became regular officers of the crown. This inquisition of sheriffs not only reduced in importance the office itself, but it also broke down the local influence of many a wealthy lord who as sheriff had controlled his shire.

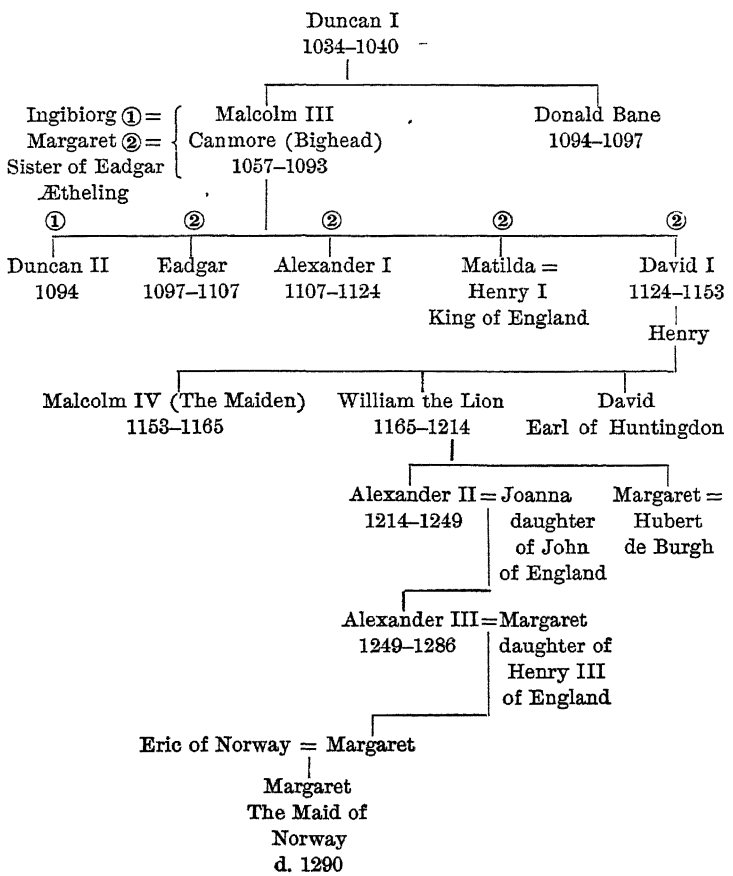
The aggrieved barons found a leader in the king's own household. His eldest son, Henry, dissatisfied with the estates and the authority allowed him by his father, and aided by his mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, headed a revolt, the signal for a great uprising of all who had a grievance against the king. French lords and English barons, headed by young Henry and the king of France, formed a menacing coalition. Even the king of Scots, William the Lion, grandson of David I, joined the league, and with the bishop of Durham, lord of a powerful northern bishopric, itself an independent fief, was preparing to invade England.

Never did Henry's activity and generalship display itself to better advantage, and never did the support given by the English people stand him in better stead. The weakness of the opposition lay in its lack of unity. Henry was able to meet each movement separately, and to deal with each feudal lord or group of lords in turn. First in France, whither he returned in 1172, he checked the invasion of the Flemish, forced Louis VII to a peace, finally defeated the Bretons, became overlord of Brittany, and pacified Poitou. In 1174, as the news from England became more alarming, he resolved to cross the Channel. There the uprising had been held in check by the king's justiciars, and the Scots had been defeated by the Yorkshire levies at Alnwick on July 13, 1174, where William the Lion had been captured.

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 15.

The coming of Henry had an immediate effect. On July 25, Hugh Bigot, most dangerous of the barons, surrendered; on the 31st, Bishop Pudsey of Durham renewed his oath of fealty, and dismissing his Flemish mercenaries was let off with a fine and the confiscation of some of his castles. William the Lion was carried to Falaise in Normandy and there compelled to acknowledge himself the vassal of the English king, thus for

KINGS OF SCOTLAND TO 1290.



the moment undoing the attempt of his predecessors to create an independent Scottish kingdom. Other lords came to the king at Northampton and surrendered their castles into his hand. The king dismantled these castles and in so doing brought to an end the last serious feudal uprising that was to take place in England.

76. Henry's Great Work for Justice, the Army, and the Finances. — With the feudal uprising suppressed, Henry at once prepared to go on with his great work of improving local methods of *justice* and of extending the royal authority from Westminster out into the shires. Even in 1166, in the midst of his troubles with Becket, he had found time to issue an ordinance called the Assize of Clarendon.[1] By this assize he had instructed his sheriffs, in every case of murder, robbery, and theft, to summon the men of the hundred and of the vills near which the crime occurred, to make inquiry of them regarding it, and to arrest the man whom the villagers accused. This was the first application of the *inquest* to matters of justice, and did away with the old method of calling in oath-helpers, compurgators. The accused was then taken by the sheriff before the justice whom the king sent from Westminster to hear pleas of the crown in the shires. The abuse of the unusual power given to the sheriff by this assize was in part responsible for Henry's attack on the sheriffs in 1170.

In 1176 by the Assize of Northampton[2] the king revised the Assize of Clarendon, omitting all reference to the sheriffs and enlarging and defining the powers of the justices of the king, who henceforth became the chief representatives of royal justice in the local districts. These *itinerant justices*, travelling on circuit through the shires, were to take cognizance of forgery and arson, as well as of murder and robbery, and were to make inquiry through twelve of the most lawful knights of the

[1] Lee, No. 62; Adams and Stephens, No. 14; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6 (Cheyney, "English Constitutional Documents"), p. 20; Henderson, *Documents*, p. 16.

[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 16.

hundred, or if knights could not be obtained, through twelve qualified freemen of the hundred and four men from each vill, regarding the circumstances of such crimes.

The matters that the justices were to ask about were not at first very exactly defined, and they received new instructions each time they set out on the circuit. One of these instructions, called the Articles of the Eyre,[1] exists for the year 1194, and shows that at that time very full powers had been given to the justices and that the list of pleas of the crown was growing in length.[2] In these same instructions there appears a new officer, — crowner, or coroner, — to be elected in the county court from among the knights of the county, whose business it was to take care of all persons guilty of offences against the king, and to produce them when the justices came into the county. It would appear that sometimes the coroners themselves tried cases of this character. The appointment of the coroner was distinctly a blow at the judicial power of the sheriff.[3]

By the same assize the king took another very important step.[4] He declared that in all cases where a man's freehold property was in danger of seizure by that man's lord, he would protect it in the royal courts. He instructed his justices to make inquiry, through twelve qualified men, regarding such property, and to do justice in all such cases. This extension of the king's justice weakened the feudal lord's control over

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 21.

[2] In time these instructions became very definite: the justices were to look after breaches of the peace, a duty later intrusted to inferior magistrates called justices of the peace (Adams and Stephens, Nos. 77, 124); to try all criminals, whence arose the court of Gaol Delivery; to hear cases of treason, felony, and trespass, whence arose the court of Oyer and Terminer. All civil cases, however, had to be tried at Westminster, unless, before (*nisi prius*) the day fixed for the trial, the itinerant justice should come into the county. Out of this regulation arose the court of Nisi Prius. See the writ of 1231 in Adams and Stephens, No. 31, which gives a clear statement of the duties of the justices. See McKechnie, *Magna Carta*, pp. 326–331.

[3] The best account of the coroner is by Gross, Introduction to *Select Coroners' Rolls*, Selden Society Publications, Vol. 9.

[4] See text of the Assize of Northampton, § 4.

his free tenants; for after this, every free tenant looked not to the lord of whom he held his land, but to the king and the king's court.

A few years later Henry reconstructed the *military* system. He had already weakened the feudal army by encouraging the practice of scutage, and as he did not like to be dependent on hired soldiers, he increased and made more efficient the old popular levies. In the Assize of Arms of 1181 he demanded that every freeman should be armed and ready for military service. Knights, burghers, and all freeholders were to have, always at the service of the king, arms and armor according to their wealth.[1] No one except a freeman could serve in the army, Jews were forbidden to have arms, and ecclesiastics were exempted. The itinerant justices were to summon local juries to determine the property of each one and to apportion the arms to be provided. In so doing they took the place of the sheriffs in all matters relating to the local militia. Thus was created a new fighting force for England.



ARMOR OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

In 1188 a *financial* step of great moment was taken. The summons for the Third Crusade had gone forth, and England endeavored to raise money by a special imposition called the Saladin tithe.[2] Hitherto the only general tax, Danegeld, had been laid on land, but now for the first time a tax was laid on

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 17; Jenks, *Edward I*, pp. 54–57. The weapons were still feudal weapons, and until the introduction of the cross-bow and long-bow the militia was very imperfect as a fighting force.

[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 19.

revenues and movable property. In determining the value of such property, each man was allowed to state the amount that he possessed; but in case his word was doubted, a jury of neighbors was called in to testify.

In all these particulars — judicial, military, and financial — the king was creating a uniform law for England, was extending the power of his own officials, and was undermining the strength of the feudal lords. And he was doing more: he was bringing the central and local institutions more closely together, and by using the inquest in all cases where possible, was increasing the efficiency of the local administration and uniting more firmly crown and people. Henry's reign marks a momentous step forward in the organization of the government and administration of the English kingdom.

77. Henry and Ireland. — In Henry's reign began the attempt of the English to conquer Ireland and to bring the half-civilized Celtic tribes under the authority of the English king. These tribes, vexed by the Danes and fighting with each other, had led a tumultuous existence for three centuries. The right to conquer Ireland had been granted to Henry (1155) by Hadrian IV, the only Englishman who ever became pope, on the ground that all islands belonged to the jurisdiction of the papal see,[1] a striking instance of the claims of the church at this time. Henry was slow to take advantage of the grant; but some of his barons, notably Richard de Clare, known as Strongbow, began the conquest in 1169.[2] In 1171 Henry himself went over, but accomplished very little. His chief purpose seems to have been to erect a kingdom for his son John, and not, as the pope desired, to introduce Christianity. The only result of the attempt was the establishment of a

[1] Henderson, *Documents*, p. 10. The authenticity of this grant has been the subject of much discussion. In defence, see Norgate, "The Bull Laudabiliter," *E. H. R.*, 1893, pp. 18–52; in opposition, see Round, *Commune of London*, pp. xi, xii, 170–200. For further references, see Gross, *Sources and Literature of English History*, p. 514, No. 3087.

[2] Colby, No. 22; Kendall, No. 22.

claim to the island which was not to be made good for four centuries.

78. Henry's Last Years. — The last years of this great king were for him a time of perplexity and sorrow, and the trouble came not from England or Ireland, but from France. The French kings were doing exactly what Henry was doing — building up a strong monarchy and warring against the feudal lords. The king of England was the lord of half of France, with fiefs extending from the Somme to the Garonne, cutting off the French kings from the sea, controlling the mouths of the two greatest rivers, the Seine and the Loire, and thus preventing all opportunities for commercial expansion. French kings were, therefore, always willing to take the side of the enemies of the English king, whoever they might be. Louis VII had aided Becket, and now Philip II was to take advantage of the discontent of Henry's sons to urge them to revolt against their father. He first aided the eldest son, Henry, in 1183, and after the latter's death, conspiring with Richard and John, stirred up war in which Henry II suffered defeat.

In the midst of his troubles Henry died, July, 1189. He was a great king, victor in the struggle with feudalism in his own kingdom; but when, as a feudal lord himself, he sought to maintain his position in the face of the rising French monarchy, he was defeated.

79. Richard, Cœur de Lion (1189–1199). — It was fortunate that Henry II had established a firm administration in England before his death, for his sons did little to continue his work. Richard was a brave man, but a bad king. His reign of ten years was spent almost entirely out of England, either in the Holy Land, where he had gone on the Third Crusade, in captivity in Germany, or in France warring against Philip Augustus. He was a warrior and knight, not a statesman or a king. Bold and impetuous, loving great deeds and romantic adventures, he was the typical crusader of his day, the knight-errant, who was the hero of song and story. Reckless with his own life, he was cruel in his treatment of others; and out-

spoken in his hates, he made enemies who were constantly intriguing against him. It was well for England that he paid no attention to the government of the kingdom, for he had not a trace of the genius of his father, and could only have made matters worse had he attempted to rule.

On the death of Henry II, Richard was declared king, without opposition, and at his coronation[1] promised to defend the church, to maintain the rights of his people, to eradicate bad laws, and to uphold good ones. But these promises were to have no fulfilment at his hands. His heart was in the crusade for the rescue of Jerusalem, and he gave no thought to the needs of the English. Immediately after his coronation he appointed Bishop Pudsey and William Longchamp his justiciars, and began to raise money for his expedition. He declared offices vacant, and put them up for sale to the highest bidder. He agreed, with the pope's consent, that those who desired should remain at home, provided they paid for the privilege. He sold charters to the towns, and for ten thousand marks released William the Lion from the oath taken at the time of the treaty of Falaise. Having raised a goodly sum of money, he embarked on the crusade, December 11, 1189. During the ensuing three years Europe rang with his exploits,[2] while England, under Longchamp, was governed with a firm hand.



KNIGHT TEMPLAR.

A member of the order of Knights Templar, showing the chain armor of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

80. Richard's Ransom. — In 1193, on his way home from Jerusalem, which he had failed to take, Richard was captured

[1] Lee, No. 64.

[2] Colby, No. 27.

by Leopold of Austria and handed over to the emperor Henry VI, son of Frederick Barbarossa. This was a great event for the emperor, since Richard had been the ally of the Normans in Sicily and of the Guelfs in Germany, both of whom at this time were endeavoring to overthrow the emperor.[1] In April the news of the capture reached England, and strenuous efforts were made to raise the money that Henry demanded for the ransom of the king's person. The justiciars called on every one, lay or clerical, to give a fourth part of his revenues for that year, and a like portion of his personal property. From each knight's fee they demanded twenty shillings as the regular aid for the ransom of a lord; from the Cistercians, the great wool-raising monks,[2] all their wool for a year; and from the churches all their gold and silver. The total sum finally raised was one hundred and fifty thousand marks (a mark = 13*s.* 4*d.*), an amount twice as large as the whole revenue of the kingdom; and Richard was released in 1194. The news was not welcome to Philip Augustus, who informed John that he had better look out, for the devil was loose.

81. Richard, John, and Philip Augustus.—It was high time that Richard came back to England. During his absence, Longchamp had become exceedingly unpopular, and John, taking advantage of the discontent aroused by Richard's methods of raising money and by the vigorous rule of Longchamp, became the leader of a movement for the purpose of deposing the justiciar. This was effected in 1191. Then in 1192 John, evidently aiming at the throne, began a vigorous revolt, and was aided and abetted by Philip Augustus. The uprising was put down in 1194 by Hubert Walter, the new justiciar, and Richard's supremacy was assured. The matter was a small one, but is of interest as showing the treacherous nature of

[1] For Richard as the ally of the enemies of Henry VI and a factor in German history, see Henderson, *A History of Germany in the Middle Ages*, Chap. XIX; an excellent account.

[2] On the monks of this time, see Jenks, *Edward I*, pp. 60–61; also Munro, *A History of the Middle Ages*, Chap. XII, especially p. 129.

John, the persistence of Philip, who had returned from the Third Crusade in order to take advantage of Richard's absence, and the way in which the barons were learning to war against an unpopular official, a training later to be brought into use against John himself.

When Richard returned, in 1194, he had nothing to fear from John, and he was in a position to settle scores with Philip Augustus for meddling with his affairs. He spent only two months in England, selling offices, receiving gifts, and imposing fines and taxes. In a special set of instructions to his justices (1194, see p. 105), he caused a list of old and new crown pleas to be drawn up, that inquiry regarding them might be made of the men of the shire, hundred, and vill, and that the cases might be brought before the itinerant justices. He did this in order that the money derived from escheats, fines, feudal dues,[1] and other sources might be available for his war with France. In 1198 he met with his first serious opposition, when he demanded of his vassals three hundred knights. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, refused to accede to this demand, on the ground that the lands of Lincoln were bound to do military service in England only, and not in France.

With the money he had raised Richard continued his struggle with Philip Augustus. He defeated Philip at Fretteval, in 1194, driving the French out of Normandy, Touraine, and Maine. In 1197, allied with the count of Flanders and Otto IV, his nephew, the first of the Guelf house to become emperor, he again defeated Philip, at Gisors, in 1198. The French king could make no headway against him, and was compelled to abide his time in patience. The opportunity came, however, when in 1199 Richard was mortally wounded on a freebooting expedition into Limoges, and gave place to his treacherous and reckless brother.

The reign of Richard is constitutionally important because it shows the strength of the system established by Henry II, which continued to work with great efficiency, even though

[1] Lee, No. 65.

there was no king in England. It is also significant in that it shows that the baronage and the people were learning how to act unitedly against a king's oppressive financial policy. This experience made easier the revolt that was to follow against the disastrous rule of John.

82. John and the Loss of the French Lands. — John is by common repute the worst king that ever ruled in England. Loved by his father, who had sought to find for his son a kingdom in Ireland, he had deserted Henry at the critical moment and gone over to the side of Philip. He proved equally thankless to Richard, who had given him control over five shires in England to compensate him for having been left without fiefs at his father's death.[1] His character was base, his temperament sensual, and his motives of the lowest sort. He had neither the ability of his father nor the heroism of his brother, and though he was energetic and resourceful, he lacked sagacity and gave way to passionate impulses. A man of this type was no match for the patient, cautious, and persistent Philip Augustus.

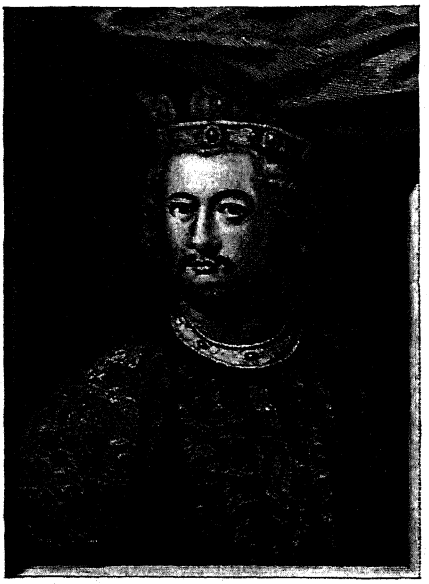
Philip was but waiting to drive the Angevins out of France. Aiding the younger Henry against Richard, Richard and John against their father, and John against Richard, he was now ready to wage bitter war with John himself, and to support the cause of Arthur, who claimed the English throne as son of Geoffrey, John's elder brother.

For the moment, however, Philip was compelled to wait. His kingdom had been placed under interdict by Innocent III in 1200,[2] and he found it wiser to turn away for the moment from Arthur and negotiate a treaty with John, at Goulet, in that year. The time of waiting was short. John, putting aside his English wife, Avice, married on August 30, 1200, Isabella of Angoulême, the betrothed of Hugh de la March, his vassal. Hugh in anger appealed to Philip, who, as John's superior lord, seized this opportunity to obtain a legal sanction for

[1] From this circumstance John received the name of Lackland.

[2] *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV, No. 4 (Howland, "Ordeal, Compurgation, Excommunication, and Interdict"), p. 29.

an attack on the Angevin lands. Philip summoned John to answer for his conduct before a court of the feudal lords. John delayed, promised, and again delayed. In 1202 the court, in accordance with feudal law, declared him guilty of felony, which meant forfeiture of his fiefs in France. Philip now took up the cause of Arthur, who through his mother was count of Brittany. He gave to him his daughter in marriage and received from him homage for his county. This was an affront to John, who, as lord of Normandy, claimed the feudal superiority over Brittany obtained by Henry II. The war that followed between John and Arthur resulted in the capture of the latter, July 31, 1202. At this juncture Arthur disappears from history, probably slain by John's own hand at Rouen in April, 1203. The murder of Arthur gave Philip the desired opportunity of carrying out the judgment of the court of 1202.[1] He seized Normandy, Anjou,



JOHN.
From Vertue's engraving, based on the effigy of the king at Worcester.

[1] The older view that Philip summoned a second court in 1203, and caused John to be tried for the murder of Arthur, was controverted by Bémont in two articles in the *Revue Historique*, 1886. The question was reopened in 1899 by Guilhiermoz, in the *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, who defended the older view. Answers were made by Petit-Dutaillis and Monod in *Revue Historique* (1899), by Bémont in the *Bibliothèque* (1899), and by the nestor of

Maine, and Touraine, and added these fiefs to the French kingdom. Though John, as we shall see, made a desperate attempt to recover his lands, the Angevin possessions were practically lost to the English kings.

83. John and the Church. — John now went rapidly from bad to worse. His best councillors had died: his mother in 1204, Hubert Walter in 1205. Deprived of their wise and restraining influence, John forced a quarrel with the church, with which his relations had thus far been amicable. The trouble concerned a successor to Archbishop Hubert Walter. John claimed the right, which certainly had been exercised by his predecessors, of naming the archbishop. But the bishops of the province of Canterbury asserted that the right was theirs. In the meantime the monks of the chapter, desiring to have a prelate favorable to them, secretly selected a candidate and sent him to Rome for the *pallium*. In the quandary, Innocent III, after a delay of a year and a half (December, 1206), annulled the elections of the sub-prior, Reginald, sent by the monks, and of John's candidate, John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, and caused Stephen Langton to be chosen. Langton was an English cardinal residing at Rome, one of the noblest men of his time, a wise and learned ecclesiastic, destined to play a part little anticipated by the great Innocent. He was consecrated in June, 1207.

John refused to receive or to recognize the new archbishop, and the issue between the pope and the king was sharply defined. John confiscated the estates of the archbishop, and of many of the bishops who supported Langton. Innocent replied with a bull, placing England under an interdict.[1] Churches were closed; the sacraments of marriage and the Eucharist were forbidden; extreme unction, burials, and baptisms were performed only in private. For five years the king remained

French students of this period, Luchaire, in *Revue Historique* (1900). The result was a complete victory for Bémont. For a possible explanation of the origin of the statement that such a court was held, see p. 120.

[1] Lee, No. 67; Colby, No. 29; Gee and Hardy, No. XXIV.

obstinate. In 1209 Innocent hurled at John an edict of excommunication,[1] but the king answered the bull by seizing the estates of the bishops who published it. In 1212 Innocent deposed John and formed a coalition, with Philip Augustus as its willing head, to undertake a crusade for the purpose of driving John out of England.[2] Threatened by an uprising of the Welsh and Scots, and terrified by a prophecy that he would cease to be king by Ascension Day, John yielded. He gave his kingdom to the pope, and received it back as a vassal of the Holy See, on the condition that he pay one thousand marks a year, receive Langton, and reinstate all deposed bishops.[3]

This humiliating act reconciled John with the church, but it only deepened the growing opposition of the English people and barons to the king. Such a submission, though at first seemingly a victory, in that it brought peace with the church, was in reality the precursor of a day of bitter reckoning for the king.

84. John's Attempt to Recover his French Lands. — John now believed that his triumph was at hand. Reconciled with the church, he determined to take revenge on Philip, his greatest enemy, and if possible recover his lands. He joined a league of Philip's enemies, consisting of his own nephew, Otto IV, and the counts of Flanders and Boulogne, two great feudal lords of France. A decisive battle was fought at Bouvines, July 27, 1214, one of the most important battles in the history of France, England, and Germany. Philip was victorious, and returned to Paris with the great task of establishing French monarchy accomplished. Otto IV lost all hope of holding the crown of Germany or the empire against the Hohenstaufens and the pope; while John, though not actually present at the battle, realized that he was hopelessly defeated, and gave up all further attempts to win back his Norman and Angevin territory. The battle of Bouvines prepared the way for Magna Carta.

[1] Lee, No. 68. [2] Lee, No. 69.

[3] Lee, Nos. 71, 72, 73; Gee and Hardy, Nos. XXV, XXVI; Adams and Stephens, Nos. 25, 28.

85. John and the Barons. — England was on the verge of civil war. Hitherto the people had sided with the king against the feudal lords. But the successes of Henry II had broken up the old feudal opposition and a new baronage had arisen, which, though still feudal in habits and sympathies, was interested not only in the maintenance of its rights as a class, but also in good government for all the English people. The heavy exactions of two such kings as Richard and John had brought matters to a crisis, and before the battle of Bouvines the barons had shown their determination to resist further despotism on the part of the king. When in 1213 John had sought to persuade the barons to go with him to France, those of the north refused to serve anywhere out of England. They refused also to pay scutage. At a council held at St. Albans the same year, the justiciar, Geoffrey Fitz Peter, declared in the king's name that the laws of Henry I, which John had promised to observe, should be put in force.[1] Three weeks later, at a council at St. Paul's, the Archbishop, Stephen Langton, presented the very charter of Henry I as the basis of the barons' demands.

The enthusiasm roused by these meetings turned to confident determination after John's defeat at Bouvines. Immediately the archbishop and the barons drew up the "articles of the barons," a definite statement of their demands, and presented it to the king. John in hot passion refused to receive it. Then an army numbering over two thousand knights, called the Army of God and Holy Church, accompanied by the citizens of London and led by Robert Fitz Walter, marched against him. Seeing that church, baronage, and people were prepared to gain their demands by force, and deserted by all save the mercenaries whom he had brought from France, John, angry but helpless, was obliged to yield. At Runnymede on the Thames, June 15, 1215, he signed Magna Carta, the great charter of English liberties.[2]

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 26; Lee, No. 74.

[2] Lee, Nos. 75–79; Colby, No. 30; Kendall, No. 24.

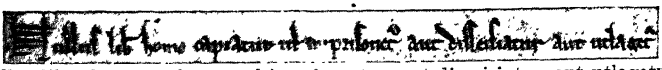
86. Magna Carta.[1] — Magna Carta differs from the charters of Henry I and Stephen in that it was forced from the king against his will. It is, therefore, a treaty between the king on one side and the church, baronage, boroughs, and people on the other. Its great importance lies not only in the fact that it limited what the king could do, but also in the fact that it was won by all classes of England acting together. It marks the close of one period of English constitutional history, for it brings together all the most important practices and privileges of clergy, barons, burghers, and people, obtained in one way or another since the Norman Conquest. It does not contain anything new; it sums up what had been enjoyed and what needed to be restated on account of the excesses of Richard and John. Though the welfare of all classes is touched upon in Magna Carta, yet the larger portion of it relates to the privileges of the feudal lords; for, as must never be forgotten, the England of Magna Carta is feudal England, and the document itself is a feudal document.

First, the *church* was to be free and its rights and privileges were to be unimpaired. This concession made trouble later when a difference of opinion arose as to what these rights were, inasmuch as the church in the Middle Ages had a way of increasing its demands.

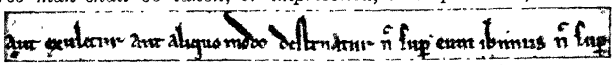
In the second place, Magna Carta, by defining in exact terms *feudal customs*, rendered further abuse of them difficult. It regulated matters of wardship, heirship, widowhood, and marriage, and fixed the amount of feudal dues.[2] More important still, for John had been making heavy demands, it said that no scutage or aid should be levied save by the council of the realm, and that on three occasions only should a lord ask for aids from his vassal: namely, when his eldest son was to be knighted, when his own person was to be ransomed

[1] Lee, No. 80; Adams and Stephens, No. 29; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6 (Cheyney, "English Constitutional Documents"), p. 7.

[2] For illustrations of what these were, see *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. [illegible] No. 3 (Cheyney, "Documents Illustrative of Feudalism"), pp. 24–28.



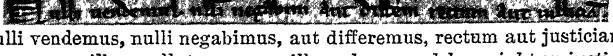
Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut dissaisiatur, aut utlagetur,
No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed,



aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruatur, nec super eum ibimus nec super
or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor upon



eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum vel per legem terrae.
him send, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.



Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus, rectum aut justiciam.
To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny, or delay, right or justice.

SECTIONS 39 AND 40 OF MAGNA CARTA.

from captivity, and when his eldest daughter was to be married for the first time.

In the third place, Magna Carta guarded the rights of the *boroughs*, especially London, and guaranteed to them their liberties and free customs. This guaranty meant much, for the boroughs of England had been receiving charters from the Norman and Angevin kings, which placed them above and outside of feudal control, and the kings knew that the rise of the cities meant the weakening of feudalism.[1]

In the fourth place, Magna Carta promised security to the *merchants;*[2] protected, as we shall see, the property of *freeholders;* and said that even a *villein*, who legally had no right to own property, should not lose his oxen and ploughs, however heavy a fine might be imposed upon him.

Lastly, Magna Carta contains certain *general clauses*, the importance of which is easily exaggerated, concerning the lives and property of all freemen, that is, of all above the status of a villein. These clauses said that no freeman should be impris-

[1] For examples of these charters, see *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Cheyney, "English Towns and Gilds"), pp. 7–11.

[2] Compare Gross, *Gild Merchant*, Vol. I, p. 165; Jenks, *Edward I*, pp. 201–202.

oned or exiled or lose his land save by the lawful judgment of those of his own rank or by the law of the land. This privilege meant that the barons were not to be judged by any one of feudal rank lower than themselves, and seems to have been the outcome of a protest on the part of those who drafted the charter against the employment of professional lawyers as justices. The charter also says something about not selling, denying, or delaying justice, but this great legal principle was at that time only as valuable as the barons and people were able to make it.[1]

Very important are the clauses that tell us of *administration and law*. Whenever the king wished advice and counsel in assessing scutages or levying an unusual aid, he was to summon his greater lords by a letter addressed personally to each one. He was to summon the lesser lords also, but by means of a general letter sent to the sheriff. All these lords were the king's tenants-in-chief, so that the council thus called was strictly a feudal council. It is not likely that the lesser lords often went to the council, for the journey was troublesome and expensive. We learn that the king's court (*curia regis*) was breaking into two parts: one to follow the king, as he moved about; the other, which was to deal with common pleas and not with pleas of the crown, to stay at Westminster. This separation was not made complete, however, till the time of Edward I. We know that the work of the itinerant justices must have been splendidly successful, for Magna Carta required that they go on circuit four times a year. This probably proved to be too often, since two years later the four times a year was reduced to once a year. The justices were to protect the lands of freeholders against the encroachment of the lords, as Henry II had already begun to do (pp. 105–106), by seeing that no freeholder lost his tenement except through testimony given

[1] For recent comments on Magna Carta, see Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, Vol. I, pp. 172–173; Jenks, *Edward I*, pp. 106–107; Dale, *Principles of English Constitutional History*, pp. 93–96; Adams, "Critical Period of English Constitutional History," *A. H. R.*, Vol. VI, pp. 643–658.

to the justices by his neighbors in a formal inquiry.[1] Lastly, Magna Carta marks the end of the sheriff's greatness by definitely saying that neither sheriffs nor coroners should hold pleas of the crown. This meant that, henceforth, both sheriff and coroner were to be of local importance only.

87. Attempt to revoke the Charter. — In the century that followed, the charter was destined to become a rallying-point for the people of England, though for the moment it looked as if it might be revoked. John had no intention of keeping his promises. On his appeal Pope Innocent relieved him of his oath, excommunicated the barons and Stephen Langton, and in a special bull declared the charter illegal. John with unexpected vigor began war. He recovered the north and the centre, while the barons held London and the southeast. The latter, fearing defeat at the hands of John and his mercenaries, turned to the king of France and offered the crown to Louis, Philip's son. Louis had a claim to the English throne, based on his marriage to Blanche of Castile, John's niece, but with this claim he apparently was not satisfied, for he endeavored to strengthen his position by inventing tales against King John. He asserted, first, that the latter did not deserve the crown because of his failure to keep an alleged coronation oath; and secondly, that he had forfeited the crown, having been condemned to death by an alleged court of feudal lords in France, summoned by Philip in 1203, to judge the king for the murder of Arthur.[2]

Louis crossed to England in May, 1216, and supported by the English party began the conquest of the kingdom. John's death the October following saved England from civil war

[1] On the assizes of Novel Disseisin, Mort d'Ancestor, and Darrein Presentment, see Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, Vol. I, pp. 145–149; Adams and Stephens, No. 24.

[2] This is a possible solution of a series of difficult historical problems. See note, p. 113, and for the alleged coronation oath or charter of liberties, see Round, *E. H. R.*, 1892, p. 288; Prothero, *E. H. R.*, 1894, p. 117; and Hall, *E. H. R.*, 1894, p. 326.

and brought unexpected relief. The English barons began at once to desert the French pretender and to support the legitimate heir to the throne, John's son, Henry, a lad only nine years old. On October 28 Henry was crowned at Gloucester, and a week later confirmed a revised text of Magna Carta. This act rendered hopeless the cause of Louis, who after a defeat at Lincoln in April, 1217, gave up the struggle, and in November renounced all claims to the crown. In 1217 Henry confirmed the charter a second time, and with the second coronation in 1220 at the hand of Stephen Langton, the civil war caused by John's faithlessness came to an end. The king and people were once more apparently working in harmony.

88. Result of John's Reign. — The reign of John is characterized by two momentous events: the loss of Normandy and the signing of Magna Carta. Each event had a decided influence upon the development of national unity. The first forced king and nobles to concentrate their attention upon England and to give up their feudal ambitions in France; the second gave written form to the constitutional privileges thus far obtained by all classes of the English people, and made it difficult for either king or nobility to abuse those privileges in the future.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER VI. — The best brief account is that in Stubbs's *The Early Plantagenets*. Freeman's *Norman Conquest* is continued by Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings* (1887) and *John Lackland* (1902). Green's sections on Henry II, expanded by Mrs. Green, are presented in a readable but rather elusive account, *Henry II*, in the English Statesman Series. On the legal and administrative side, Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* (2d ed.), Vol. I, Chap. VI, have thrown light on the entire period. Stubbs's *Constitutional History* is a standard, and may be supplemented, for the reigns of Henry II, Richard I, and John, by the same author's well-known prefaces in the Rolls Series. These prefaces have been published by Longmans in a separate volume, entitled *Historical Introductions*, edited by Hassall (1902). Church history during the period from the Norman Conquest to the accession of Edward I is admirably treated by Stephens, in the second volume (1901) of *A History of the English Church*. Lives of Becket

and Stephen Langton may be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Ramsey has continued his valuable *Foundations of England* in *The Angevin Empire: the Reigns of Henry II, Richard I, and John* (1903). This work, like the former, is a storehouse of learning. For Continental affairs, the Third Crusade, the Papacy, the Hohenstaufen Emperors, the rise of French Monarchy, see works of Archer and Kingsford, Robinson, Munro, Bémont and Monod, given in preceding list; also Henderson, *A History of Germany in the Middle Ages* (1894), and *A Short History of Germany* (1901), Vol. I.

CHAPTER VII.

HENRY III AND EDWARD I.

89. Henry III. — The many chroniclers of his reign have given us a very good picture of Henry III, and it is not difficult to understand his character and its influence upon England. Henry was not a national king in any sense of the word. He had an exalted idea of his royal position, and believed that the people lived for him, and not he for the people. He was frivolous and extravagant, loved pomp and ceremony, and surrounded himself with selfish favorites. He was pious in a mediæval way and a devout son of the church; but he yielded a too ready obedience to the pope, and was too willing to sacrifice the interests of the English to the advancement of the claims and pretensions of the mediæval papacy. He spent money freely for churches and the adornment of churches, but he destroyed the good effects of his generosity by filling church offices with favorites, and using church revenues for furthering his own and the pope's Continental projects. He did nothing to advance the cause which had gained so much from the loss of Normandy and the winning of Magna Carta. In fact, we may say that he labored intentionally to injure the cause of national unity, for he listened only to the advice of foreigners and of those hostile to the best interests of the English people. During his long reign of fifty-six years he succeeded in turning every class against him, filled the land with aliens, and used England's resources for purposes that the English deeply resented. Consequently, as the national spirit was constantly growing stronger, it is little wonder that the last years of the reign were years of civil war.

90. Relations with the Continent. — Henry was far more interested in the Continent than in England, and was willing to use his kingdom and its wealth to make more prominent his position abroad. This is shown in three particulars.



HENRY III.
From engraving by Vertue based on the king's effigy at Westminster.

In the first place, he desired to recover his lost fiefs in France. To that end he undertook three Continental expeditions: one in 1230, which was nothing but a military demonstration along the frontiers of Normandy and Maine; a second in 1242, which nearly ended in his capture; and a third in 1254, which resulted in a treaty of Paris, 1259, whereby he absolutely renounced his claims to the greater part of the Angevin fiefs in France, and received, from St. Louis (IX), Guienne and Gascony. These lands remained the only English possessions in France till the treaty of Bretigny, 1360.

In the second place, Henry was connected by blood or marriage with many of the great families in Europe. His mother, after the death of John, had married a Poitevin, the son of her old lover, Hugh de la March. In 1237 Henry himself married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence and sister of the wife of Louis IX. His brother, Richard of Cornwall, himself half a Continental prince, had taken as his second wife a

sister of Eleanor,[1] and as his third the niece of the archbishop of Cologne. Two of Henry's sisters had married respectively Alexander II of Scotland, and Frederick II, the great Hohenstaufen, "Wonder of the World" and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire; while his eldest son, Edward, married a princess of Castile. These foreign connections were destined to have a most disastrous effect upon Henry's government at home.

In the third place, Henry was, by virtue of John's submission to the pope, a vassal of the Roman See. This position not only increased his intimacy with Rome, but also laid England open to excessive papal exactions.

91. Henry's Minority: Wise Government of Hubert de Burgh.— From 1220 till 1227 government was in the hands of one of the ablest men of the time, Hubert de Burgh. He ruled wisely and well, and during these years the national party was in control. Hubert denied the papal claims upon England, and drove out the legates that the pope, Honorius III, had sent to manage the land in the interest of the Holy See. He attacked the foreigners, such as Peter des Roches and Fawkes de Bréauté, who refused to obey the law of the land as shaped by Magna Carta, and drove them, too, out of England. He compelled Henry to confirm Magna Carta for the third time, in 1225, giving the charter, now changed in many particulars, the final form in which it was to be embodied in the laws of the land.[2] Hubert was in some ways arbitrary and exacting, but he believed in England for the English, and upheld loyally the forms of government that had been developed by the kings and justiciars who had preceded him.

[1] The fourth daughter of Count Raymond of Provence married Charles of Anjou, the brother of Louis IX. Thus we have the interesting spectacle of four sisters marrying two pairs of brothers. Each sister, too, became eventually a queen, for Richard of Cornwall had the title King of the Romans, and Charles of Anjou became king of Sicily. Jenks, *Edward I*, pp. 70–72 (table).

[2] Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 353, and Bémont, *Chartes des Libertés Anglaises*, p. 45.

92. Coming of the Aliens. — In 1227 Henry declared himself of age, and dismissing Hubert de Burgh, made Peter des Roches, a Poitevin and bishop of Winchester, justiciar in his place. An era of foreign influence and misgovernment began. Swarms of aliens settled upon England: first in 1232, then again in 1237 at the time of the king's marriage, and a third time between 1247 and 1258. Poitevins and Bretons, Germans, Italians, and Provençals, relatives of the king or his wife, flocked to England, attracted by the prospect of preferment and wealth. They received from the king not only gifts and pensions, but offices, lands, and important privileges also. Henry made his wife's uncle, Boniface of Savoy, archbishop of Canterbury; another uncle he made bishop of Hereford; scores of other aliens received offices of state, positions of trust, wardships of castles, and the like. The avarice of these foreigners exceeded all bounds. They sapped the country of its wealth, abused their inferiors, and played the part of petty despots. They forced itinerant justices, sheriffs, and bailiffs to harry the courts and to take therefrom the last penny. They plundered London, oppressed the Jews, despoiled the tenantry on their estates. Henry shared in the infamous work: he revoked old privileges that they might be bought back, sold charters, made levies on the monasteries, and enforced forest laws with exasperating rigor. The amount of money thus raised was enormous, but it was spent outside of England, and the king's treasury was always empty.[1]

93. Papal Demands upon England. — At the same time, the popes, exercising their authority as heads of the church and overlords of England, were compelling clergy and people to submit to grievous exactions. The mediæval church was world-wide in spirit and claims. It demanded for itself universal authority, declared that kings and princes held their thrones at the will of the pope, and that the temporal power was

[1] Colby, No. 31, A. It has been estimated that from 1227 to 1257 the king squandered 950,000 marks.

ordained of God to be subject to the spiritual. Innocent III was almost the only pope that had made good these claims, but for a century his successors were to assert them. The church was in fact a great mediæval state including all countries within its sway, and the popes, as the representatives of God on earth, claimed to be temporal overlords of emperors and kings. Innocent had concerned himself with temporal matters in nearly every state in Europe, and both he and his successors looked on England as especially under their control on account of John's oath of fealty. Henry had confirmed this oath, and in so doing had laid England open to papal interference of the most sweeping character.

This interference took two forms: the demand for money, and the exercise of the right to fill English ecclesiastical positions with foreigners, chiefly Italians. The popes after Honorius, the successor to Innocent, needing money for the war with the emperor, Frederick II (1226–1250),[1] reduced the demands on England to a science. England became a "garden of delight." "Verily," said Innocent IV, "England is an inexhaustible well, and where many things abound, from the many can much be extorted." Year by year heavier sums were demanded, individuals were compelled to make payment, taxes were levied, and church estates plundered. In the year 1245, sixty thousand marks, a sum double the income of the crown itself, was sent to Rome. Italians were forced into bishoprics and other benefices. Many of these foreigners were illiterate and ignorant, of irreligious lives and character, greedy and unscrupulous. The church became impoverished, and religious life sank to a low state of efficiency.

94. The Sicilian Crown. — Henry now became involved in a project that put the capstone upon England's misery and drove the feudal lords to open rebellion. The chief purpose of the popes in their war with Frederick II had been to loose

[1] An admirable account of this struggle may be found in Henderson, *A History of Germany in the Middle Ages*, Chap. XXIV.

the latter's hold upon southern Italy and Sicily. Frederick had received these territories from his mother, Constance of Sicily, and had spent most of his life at Palermo. At his death in 1250, the pope claimed the right to dispose of Sicily as he would, and offered it first to Richard of Cornwall. But Richard shrewdly refused it. It was then offered to Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX, who at this time refused it, though he afterward accepted it. Then in 1253 the pope offered it to Edmund, Henry's youngest son. Henry accepted it for his son, though the heir was his own nephew, Conrad, son of Frederick II. As the kingdom was in the possession of Conrad and his half-brother Manfred, this offer merely meant that the pope wanted Henry's aid in conquering it, and that Edmund was to hold it as a vassal of the pope. Thus the offer of the Sicilian kingdom was merely another evidence of the pope's desire to use English gold in the war with the empire.[1]

For four years, from 1254 to 1258, Henry pursued this phantom and poured money into Italy. He emptied his own treasury, borrowed from all who would lend, forced money from the Jews, employed the machinery of government to raise all that he could from the land; and then, in the end, found that he had labored in vain, for the barons compelled him to stop sending money to the pope, and the latter in consequence again offered the Sicilian crown to Charles of Anjou.

95. The National Movement: the Friars and Robert Grosseteste. — While Henry was pursuing foreign schemes, welcoming aliens and foreign prelates to England, and spending the wealth of the kingdom like water, a national movement was gradually taking shape. Since the winning of Magna Carta new influences had been making themselves felt. Chief of these was the work of the friars. In 1220 the Dominicans had come to England; in 1224 the Franciscans. The former were called the Friars Preachers; the latter, the Friars Minor or

[1] For an excellent account of the circumstances attending this offer, see *E. H. R.*, 1895, pp. 19-27, "Edmund of Lancaster." Henry needed 135,000 marks in order to accept the offer.

Minorites. These men applied themselves at once to the great task of raising the religious life of England. Under a vow of poverty they labored among the people of the towns, — notably London and Oxford, — preaching the Christian faith, healing the sick, and bringing hope and comfort to the poor and afflicted. Thus they stood in striking contrast to the higher clergy, who in their thirst for preferment and wealth were neglecting the spiritual needs of the masses.[1] The friars produced Roger Bacon, who was to influence the world of thought, and Adam of Marsh, who was a power at Oxford in his day. They supported the only great and worthy churchman of this period, Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, who was almost alone among the great prelates in his opposition to the policy of king and pope.[2] Grosseteste stands in English annals as the enemy of misgovernment, the upholder of national unity and independence.

96. The Resistance of the Barons. — It must not be supposed that the king's policy had been borne in silence. Many protests had been uttered, but they had gone unheeded. In 1244 and 1245 "parliaments," as they were beginning to be called, had been summoned. In the first of them Grosseteste had made a noble speech, which he had followed up with a letter to the "Lords and Commons" of the realm. In the second, the barons had compelled the king to confirm the charter for the fifth time.[3] With bell, book, and candle the bishops had excommunicated all who should infringe its provisions, and Henry had solemnly promised to maintain it inviolate. But the charter was no better observed after this ceremony than it had been before.

Three events strengthened the cause of the barons: Henry's

[1] *Social England*, Vol. I, pp. 404-406, 431-434; Stephens's *History of the English Church*, Vol. II, pp. 302-307. Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars*, contains a delightful account of the coming of the friars to England. In general, see Robinson's *Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, Chap. XVII.

[2] *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, by Stevenson (1899).

[3] He had confirmed it a fourth time in 1237.

acceptance of the Sicilian crown; a war with the Welsh (1256–1258), which ended ingloriously for the king;[1] and a famine during the winter of 1257 and 1258, which brought frightful hardships on the poor. The barons determined to resist, and Simon de Montfort appeared as their leader. Simon was "a man of imperious and ambitious temper, with a contempt and hatred of misgovernment and incapacity, and one who could not stand by idle when a national revolt impended." He had gone to the Holy Land in 1240, had fought in Poitou in 1242, and from 1248 to 1253 had been governor of Gascony. He was intimate with Adam of Marsh and Robert Grosseteste, and was as eager to reform the state as the great bishop had been to reform the church. When, therefore, in the spring of 1258, the discontent of baronage and people reached its height, Simon de Montfort found himself forced forward as the leader of the popular cause. In April, at a meeting of the great council, or "parliament," the barons demanded the appointment of twenty-four of the wisest men of England to advise the king, to bring about a general change in the royal officials, and to erect a government that should care for the good of the people. Henry yielded, and in May issued a decree authorizing the appointment. In June the "parliament" again met, this time at Oxford, to draw up a list of reforms.

97. Provisions or Reforms of Oxford. — The "parliament" at Oxford[2] began by demanding that all aliens should leave England, and that castles in the hands of aliens should be given up to the English. This was agreed to and effected after some resistance on the part of the foreigners. Then the barons, in what is known as the Provisions of Oxford, set up a new government.[3]

[1] On the causes and course of this war, see Edwards, *Wales*, Chaps. VIII, IX. For a description of England in 1257, see Kendall, No. 25. See also Morris's *Welsh Wars of Edward I.*

[2] Commonly called the Mad Parliament.

[3] Adams and Stephens, No. 34.

They agreed that the twenty-four already appointed should select four of their number, who in turn were to choose fifteen others as a permanent council to govern with the king. These fifteen were to keep in their own hands the appointment of the great officers of the kingdom. They were also to meet three times a year, in February, June, and October, and with them was to sit a special committee of twelve, chosen by the "commonalty," that is, the party of the barons. This was a very complicated arrangement, and it set up, as can be seen readily, an oligarchical administration. Though this government lasted from 1258 to 1263, and though the bodies of fifteen and twelve met regularly three times a year, the system was too clumsy to be efficient, and the fact that the members of the king's party quarrelled with the representatives of the barons made failure almost inevitable.

The turning-point of the movement came when the old earl of Gloucester, who represented the nobility, and Simon de Montfort, who stood as the defender of the popular cause, disagreed for reasons that historians have never been able satisfactorily to ascertain. Then the king and his supporters, growing weary of the barons' control, and taking advantage of the discord in the reform party, tried to break down the government. Henry obtained a bull from the pope, releasing him from his oath; he removed the justiciar appointed by the barons, and defied the provisions by openly violating their conditions. Gloucester and Montfort buried their enmity in the presence of this danger. Civil war was imminent, though all sought to avoid it. Finally, in 1262, they referred the matter to the arbitration of Louis IX, whose reputation for justice all acknowledged. In January, 1264, the French king, in the award or Mise of Amiens, decided against the reformers, and at one stroke undid all that the barons had accomplished since 1258. The pope confirmed the verdict.

38. The Barons' War: the Battle of Lewes. — The Mise of Amiens was received in England with indignation, for all feared a return of the rule of the foreigners. The citizens of

London rose in revolt, imprisoned the king's officers, and plundered the king's houses. Simon and the young earl of Gloucester (the old earl had died in 1262) became reconciled and were joined by Llewellyn, the Welsh prince,[1] and other barons. But the king was far from weak. He was aided by his son Edward, by John Balliol and other lords of the north, and by his foreign allies from the continent. In the war that followed victory seemed at first to lie in the king's hands, but after a series of mistakes that more than counterbalanced his earlier successes, Henry was surprised by Simon, Gloucester, and the Londoners at Lewes in Sussex on May 14, 1264. The battle was lost for the king, in part because of the impetuous and ill-timed charge of Prince Edward, and in part by Simon's terrific attack on the centre of the king's army. The battle put Simon in possession of the machinery of government, and gave into his hands as a hostage Prince Edward, whom the defeat at Lewes had changed "from a reckless youth of promise into a sober, capable man." For a year Simon ruled in the king's name.

99. Simon's Government. — In June, 1264, Simon summoned a parliament composed not only of barons and clergy, but also of four knights from each shire. This assembly restored the government established by the Provisions of Oxford, with the difference that Simon, Gloucester, and Bishop Berksted took the place of the council of four, and appointed a committee of nine to advise the king and to manage the affairs of the kingdom. During the months that followed, Simon's power was greatly strengthened by a threatened invasion of the foreigners, led by those who had been driven out of England. The English of all parties responded at once to the call for an army of resistance, and so determined were they that the invaders asked for a parley, and an agreement was reached to submit all questions in dispute to a great national assembly to be held in London in January, 1265.

[1] Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 168–171.

100. The First Great Parliament. — This London parliament of 1265 marks a great advance in the constitutional history of England. The old council of the king had been strictly a feudal assembly. At its meetings the people were not expected to be present; as far as they can be said to have been represented, they were represented by their lords. In 1213, after his submission to the pope, John had summoned a council at St. Albans, to which he called men from the vills on the royal demesne. In so doing he simply enlarged the scope of the inquest, for he wanted to make inquiry of these men about the losses and the confiscated property of each of the bishops who had excommunicated him in 1209, and whose estates he had seized.[1]

A more important innovation was the summons of four "discreet men" from each shire to a council at Oxford three months later.[2] These men were important landholders in the counties, who were called knights of the shire because they were chosen by the freeholders in the county court to act in certain capacities for the county. Originally lowest in rank of the feudal lords, they were rapidly becoming a middle class of small landowners. Scutage had relieved them of military service, agriculture had become their dominant interest, and the county court the scene of their chief political activity. The election of such knights as coroners for the county was already a familiar event, but their election to sit in the great council of the realm was a new and almost bewildering extension of their functions. Still, such an election was not unnatural, for the knights were feudal in origin, and as coroners had been accustomed to guard the pleas of the crown for the royal justices and had become familiar with matters connected with the central administration.

After 1213 there was not another summons of knights for forty years. In 1254 Henry directed the sheriffs to send to the council of Westminster two knights to assess an aid to be

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 26. [2] Adams and Stephens, No. 27.

laid on the county,[1] and his example was followed twice during the next ten years. The knights, as wealthy landowners, were becoming an important class in the shires, and their advice and help was desired by the king and the greater lords. Yet the latter had no thought of a representative governing body, or they would not have set up such an unwieldy system as that established by the Provisions of Oxford.

But when in 1265 Simon, in the king's name, summoned an assembly to make terms with the invaders, he introduced a great constitutional innovation. His chief enemies were among the barons, his chief supporters among the knights and freeholders of the counties and the citizens of the boroughs. After he had issued writs to the clergy and barons, as was always done in summoning a great council, he turned to his own allies and bade the sheriffs send up two knights from each shire, and the burgesses two of their number from each borough, who with the others were to meet with the king. The response to the summons was immediate and hearty. Five earls, eighteen barons, all the bishops who were not hostile to Simon, and a great number of knights and burgesses gathered at London. It was a partisan body, for it was composed only of Simon's followers; but it was called for a partisan purpose, to uphold Simon's cause. There is no reason to believe that Simon intended such a body to be regularly or permanently summoned, or even to be summoned a second time. Nevertheless, this gathering set a precedent for the future, and in this sense, perhaps, Simon may be called the "creator of the House of Commons."

101. Simon's Defeat and Death. — The parliament of 1265 came to an agreement with the king, who swore to observe the Charter and the Provisions of Oxford. Simon was recognized ruler of England and seems to have been appointed justiciar. But while many of the barons had stood by him in the presence of foreign invaders, they were not likely to do so when he

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 33.

became the autocrat of England. The young earl of Gloucester, who had fought on Simon's side at Lewes, turned against him. Prince Edward, watching carefully the course of events, and seeing indications of Simon's waning popularity, succeeded in escaping from his custodian, the earl of Hereford. With Edward free, Simon's cause was greatly imperilled. The barons wished a king as their ruler; and while they distrusted Henry and supported Simon against a foreign foe, they were more than willing to listen to Prince Edward when he promised to meet their wishes for reform. Gloucester and Edward came together at Ludlow in June, 1265, and the prince promised to persuade the king to meet at all important points the wishes of the barons.

War was now inevitable. Edward gathered his adherents in the west and turned to face Simon, who, dismayed at the turn affairs had taken, at once employed the machinery of government to crush the prince. He summoned the feudal array, ordered the sheriffs to capture Edward, requested the bishops to excommunicate him, and called on Llewellyn, prince of Wales, to invade England. Every effort was vain. The opposing armies met on the field near Evesham, and there, on August 4, Simon was defeated and slain.[1] Thus died a man who, in spite of all his ambition and imperiousness, did a great work for England. He had checked the denationalizing policy of Henry III, and whatever may have been his motive, had, for a time at least, stood forth as a national leader. His methods were not always commendable, but he had taught England a good lesson. By one Englishman that lesson was well learned; for when Edward made his peace with the barons, it was Simon's principle of government that he promised to adopt.

From 1266 to 1272, peace reigned, in the main, throughout England. In the Dictum of Kenilworth (1267), Henry III, restored to power, proclaimed an amnesty and confirmed the great charter. In 1268, Edward was able to leave England

[1] Colby, No. 31, B; Kendall, Nos. 26, 27.

to join Louis IX, his uncle, on the last crusade. Two adventurous years were spent by him in the East, and his fame as a crusader spread over Europe. So well established was his place in the hearts of the English that in 1272, when Henry III died, he did not fear to delay for two years more his return to England. Proclaimed king in 1272, he did not arrive in his kingdom until 1274, when he was crowned. Then began the great work of one of the greatest of English kings.

102. Edward I. — Edward had been trained in a stern school of experience. He had seen all the disasters of bad government, and with a great man's instinct for compromise knew how to remedy abuses without arousing permanent opposition among his people. He had love of power, and a masterfulness which in his early years gave him a reputation for cruelty; but he became more temperate as he grew older, and while never lacking in bravery, showed a sympathetic, even an affectionate nature. He was chaste, devout, frugal, and dignified, always just, faithful, and persevering, and in his motto, *pactum serva* (keep troth), he cherished an ideal which, though difficult of attainment, was unusual for the times. He supplemented the work of his ancestor, Henry II, because where the latter displayed a genius for administration, Edward displayed a genius for law, and shaped in a legal mould the growing English constitution. Warrior, lawgiver, financier, Edward was destined to leave an indelible impression upon English history.

103. Edward's Attack on the Feudal Claims of the Barons.— Scarcely had the king been crowned when he began a searching inquiry into the feudal conditions of England. Under Henry III the barons had been getting into their hands many of the royal estates, and exercising powers in matters of revenue, justice, and all sorts of local privileges that were in some quarters reducing the royal rights to little or nothing. Edward determined to restore to the crown these privileges, or "franchises," as they were called, claiming that they were the king's. In 1274 he sent commissioners, much as William had

done when he made Domesday Book, to inquire hundred by hundred regarding these franchises, and to write them down in a permanent record. This record still exists, and is called the Hundred Rolls, standing next to Domesday Book as a record of mediæval life.

Having thus gathered his information, Edward spent three years in considering the evidence that it furnished. Then at Gloucester, in 1278, he held a great council, and there declared his purpose of sending out his justices to inquire by what warrant the barons exercised these privileges. If the barons, he said, could not show that a king had conferred them, then he would take them away. Edward was as good as his word. The justices set out in 1279 and visited all the counties, calling the great men before them and listening to their statements or pleas.[1] The great men were thoroughly angry. The earl of Warenne, hating the lawyers, drew his sword and replied to their inquiry that his ancestors had won their lands by the sword, and by the sword he proposed to hold them. Edward did not wish to go to extremes; he desired to teach the barons a lesson, but he still wished to remain on friendly terms with them. So he compromised, leaving to them all franchises that had actually been exercised before the accession of Richard I. Yet even so the result was fatal to feudalism: the king had asserted his power, and in the years that were to follow the great lords lost bit by bit the privileges that in the earlier years they had so imperiously exercised.

In the same year (1278) Edward dealt feudalism another blow by completing the transformation of the knight from a military vassal into an agricultural landholder. He compelled every person possessing land of the value of £20 a year to assume "the degree of a knight, with its costly ceremonies, or

[1] Thus first we have the instructions to the commissioners, then the evidence gathered (the Hundred Rolls), then the decision of the king (the preamble to the statute of Gloucester), then the barons' pleas before the justices (*Placita de Quo Warranto*).

to pay a fine."[1] This broke up the exclusive character of feudal society by creating a new body of knights, not feudal at all, but composed of the middle class landholders, who, doing no military service to an intermediate lord, owed their honor directly to the king, and to him alone their fealty and homage.

104. The Further Correction of Abuses. — It is amazing to see how widely, even at this early date, Edward's reforms extended, and how thoroughly he had learned the lesson that Earl Simon and his own experience had taught him. In 1275, at a parliament held at Westminster, he brought forward a great measure, known as the First Statute of Westminster.[2] This statute, in the first place, dealt with the royal administration, seeking not to change its form,[3] but to remedy its abuses. A mere list of these abuses would fill a page and would throw a glaring light on the way in which the foreigners that had held royal offices under Henry III had been misusing the powers given them. Unjust fines, refusal of bail, illegal claims of debts, demand of debts already paid, interference in courts and in county elections, excessive levying of aids, were all considered in this great statute. Secondly, it forbade the feudal lords to abuse those privileges that were clearly within their rights. Thirdly, it guarded the rights of merchants and of citizens. "The men who drew up the statute of Westminster the First," says Jenks, "were no theorists, they knew exactly where the shoe pinched."[4]

105. Conquest of Wales. — Even while setting the administration of his kingdom in order, Edward was engaged in a war with Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who had refused at his bidding to do him homage.[5] For many years the Welsh had maintained their independence, and had resisted all attempts

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 39; Jenks, *Edward I*, p. 187, note.

[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 37.

[3] The abolition of the office of justiciar was the only change effected by Edward in the form of government.

[4] Jenks, *Edward I*, p. 174.

[5] Edwards, *Wales*, Chap. X.



ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, IRELAND and WALES.
Time of EDWARD I.

Small black squares in Ireland are English Castles and Strongholds

SCALE OF MILES

0 25 50 75 100 120

Longitude West 4° from Greenwich 0° East

of the English kings to incorporate their land with England. They had, in previous years, so threatened the western frontier that the great March earldoms of Chester, Pembroke, and Glamorgan had been erected to guard against Welsh invasion. The lords of these Marches, though vassals of the English king, were practically independent potentates. Llewellyn had incurred Edward's anger by aiding Simon de Montfort against Henry III. In 1277 Edward led an army across the border, and after a brief campaign in North Wales forced Llewellyn to a peace. But in 1282, incited and aided by his brother David, Llewellyn rose in revolt. Edward, who may have been waiting for him "to commit himself beyond forgiveness," gathered his forces, fleet and army, and after a difficult but vigorous campaign defeated the Welsh at Orewin Bridge. Llewellyn was slain; David soon after was captured, and finally executed as a traitor (1283–1284).

By the statute of Rhuddlan, Wales was divided into four shires and annexed to England. Anglesey was peopled with English farmers, and the shires were organized after the English model, though Edward wisely retained as the basis of his system the old tribal and feudal divisions of the land. In 1301 the title of Prince of Wales was given to Edward's son, though it carried with it no political power, and remained from that time forward simply the chief title conferred upon the heir-apparent to the English throne.

106. Two Years of Great Laws, 1283–1285. — Edward's early work had been largely that of a reformer; but now, even while the Welsh war was in progress, he was establishing his greater claim to fame as a lawgiver. Many of the laws of this period are difficult for any except a trained lawyer to understand, but their general character can easily be stated.

Ever keeping in mind the needs of foreign trade and the merchants, Edward, in the Statute of Merchants, or of Acton-Burnell, sought to remedy a widespread evil.[1] Such a thing

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 41.

as credit in business had not yet come into existence, and there existed no way whereby merchants (and merchants were generally aliens[1]) could compel the payment of a debt. As "credit is the life-blood of commerce," Edward knew that trade would be strangled if some remedy, other than compulsion, were not provided. So at Acton-Burnell, in 1283, he promulgated a statute allowing a merchant to summon his debtor before the mayor of a chartered borough, there to acknowledge the debt, and to sign a bill promising to pay it. If the debtor did not pay, the mayor had authority to imprison him or to seize his goods. This simple remedy proved of the greatest value and was widely employed, and it placed commerce and trade on a new footing in England.

By an interpretation of this statute the entire property of a wealthy lord could be seized for the debts of an eldest son. The barons, already discontented by the inquiry into their privileges, seem to have joined forces and compelled Edward to make a concession that would save them from this danger. Class feeling and family pride were still so strong that the nobility would not let their lands be seized for debt and their sources of revenue destroyed, without making a protest. To prevent such a disaster they demanded the right to hand down their estates in unbroken succession, from eldest son to eldest son, so that henceforth no heir could pledge the estate for debt. Edward, probably unwillingly, granted this demand in the Second Statute of Westminster, the first chapter of which is commonly called the Statute of Entails.[2] Thus arose the entailed estates of England. Though popular during the two centuries following, they afterwards went out of favor, and since the fifteenth century the statute, though never repealed, has been successfully evaded.

[1] A foreigner was either a man from abroad or from another town. An alien was always a man from abroad. The only adequate account of aliens in England is by Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants to England, from the Norman Conquest to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (1899).

[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 42 (abridged).

The remaining chapters of the Second Statute of Westminster dealt with very different matters. They provided for a more vigorous correction of abuses of the feudal lords and royal officials and thus supplemented the First Statute of Westminster. They regulated also the conduct of lawsuits, in order to prevent collusion, fraud, and delay; and commanded the chancellor, who issued writs authorizing a suit to be brought to the royal courts, to act not according to precedent, but according to the principle involved in the case. In this as in other particulars the statute, full to the brim of dry and technical details, was simply a splendid effort on the part of the king to substitute his law for time-honored custom, and to bring into royal hands a great deal of business that had hitherto been controlled by the church, lords, boroughs, and the courts of the county and the hundred. But in reality it was to be two centuries before this was accomplished.

The attempt to centralize justice would have had little result had not Edward already (1278) strengthened the royal courts and made them more accessible. In so doing he merely completed the work of his predecessors. He organized more definitely the King's Bench, the court that in theory, though not in fact, always sat in the king's presence; and confirmed the independence of the other court, which Magna Carta had said should sit permanently at Westminster, there to hear the common pleas.[1] Thus out of the old *curia regis* three common law courts had been created: the King's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, and the Exchequer, the last of which really developed its judicial functions at a later time. The king did not give up his judicial functions, for any one deeming that he had not received justice might petition the king through the chancellor. Out of this practice arose the Court of Chancery, an equity court; while higher still, the king sat at the head of his council and acted as a supreme court.

[1] The justices of this court went regularly on circuit into the shires. For the assizes held in the shires, see p. 105, note 2. The common pleas were the disputes between private persons, subjects of the king.

107. Organization of the Militia and Local Police. — We are vet done with the legislation of these two great years. far Edward had dealt with the royal officials, the feudal ers, and the merchants. But in the autumn of 1285 to the people at large, and in the Statute of Winches- to make out of every freeholder a soldier and an en, ready to aid in the preservation of the peace.[1] ute declared that the people of each hundred should nsible for the robberies committed in that hundred, t the people of each town should keep watch and ward at town and deliver suspicious strangers and actual crim- s to the sheriff, and in case of resistance should raise the and cry and pursue the offender from town to town, until should be captured. Landholders were to widen highways at ran from market town to market town through their estates and to keep the adjoining land, for two hundred feet on each side, cleared of thickets where thieves might lurk. Every man between fifteen and sixty years of age was to have armor in his house according to his property, and twice every year was to present himself at the "view of armor" held in his hundred, where two constables were to inspect the array and to present to the justices all defaults of armor, highways, and watches.

Three things are especially noteworthy in this statute: no man was to be excused because of ignorance of the law; the constable appears for the first time in the service of the crown; and lastly, the act, by a special provision, commanded that all who did not have armor or weapons should provide bows and arrows. Edward, like Henry II before him, knew the value of infantry and improved on the Assize of Arms by the addition of the bowmen. Yet it must be remembered that this militia was still a local levy, supplied and equipped by the vicinity. The idea of a national army paid by the state belongs to modern times.

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 43.

108. Edward and the Church. — There still remained the church to deal with. Six years before, in 1279, Edward had had his first brush with the ecclesiastical organization and had promulgated one of the most important and famous of all his statutes — the Statute of Mortmain.[1] This law forbade men to transfer land on any condition to a monastery or other religious corporation. So frequently had such transfers been made in the past, that it is estimated that one-fourth of the lands of England had come under the control of the church. By such transference the king lost the military service due from these lands, and the feudal lords lost an important part of their revenues. The church was a tenant that never died and never forfeited its lands; therefore it had no occasion, as had other feudal tenants, to render dues at times of marriage, to furnish profits from wardships or the care of minors, or to pay fines when a new tenant took the place of one that had died. For these reasons land so transferred was said to be given *in manum mortuum*, that is, into the dead hand of the patron saint. Edward and his barons were in entire accord in remedying this abuse, and when they drafted the Second Statute of Westminster they took occasion to say again that land could not be given in Mortmain. The terms of the Mortmain statute, although later they were frequently evaded by clever ecclesiastics with a turn for law,[2] were nevertheless efficient in checking the growth of monasteries.

At the same time Edward laid down certain rules, which he gave to his justices, regarding the jurisdiction of the church courts or courts Christian. This official order, called *circumspecte agatis*,[3] contains a list of those cases that the church could take up in its own courts. It also asserts that certain other cases, which the church had been wont to consider

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 40; Lee, No. 85; Gee and Hardy, No. XXVIII. For the practical repetition of the statute in 1392, see Adams and Stephens, No. 97.

[2] Adams and Stephens, p. 155, § 5.

[3] Adams and Stephens, No. 44; Gee and Hardy, No. XXIX.

within its own jurisdiction, were in reality cases that ought to come before the royal courts. Thus again did Edward seek to extend the authority of the royal courts and the royal justices.

The record of these years is a brilliant one. No important class of his people escaped the beneficial work of the king and his ministers.

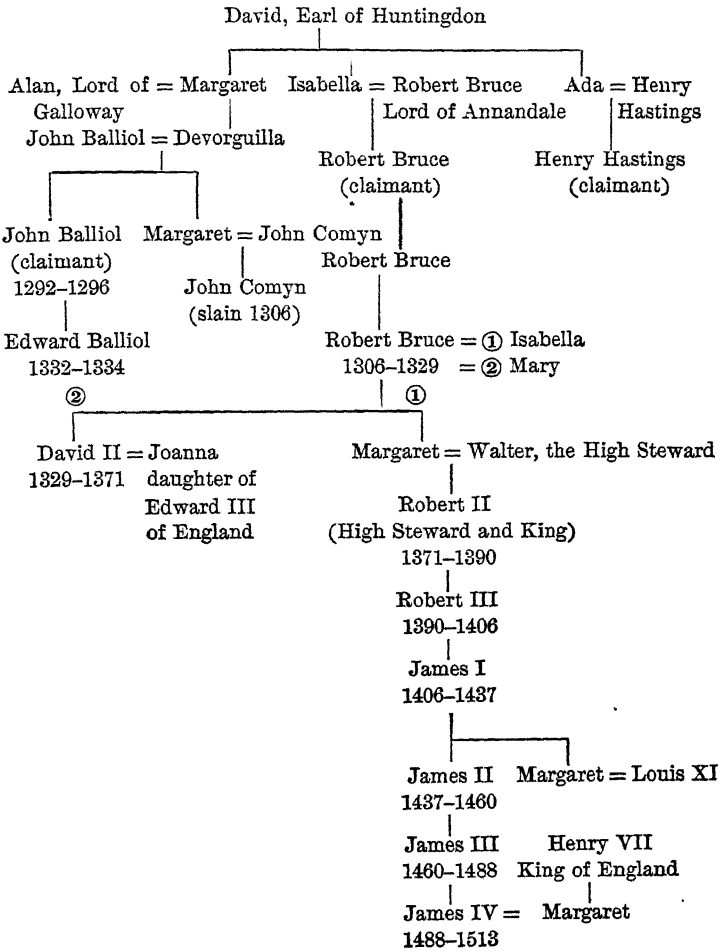
109. The Succession in Scotland. — But the year that followed the last of these great measures saw the opening of a phase of Edward's career that is less satisfactory to contemplate. His solution of the difficult Scottish problem has added little to his fame. Thus far the Scottish nation had been wholly independent, though the submission of William the Lion (p. 103) and the renewal of allegiance by his son, Alexander II, in 1217, had seemed to give the English kings a title to a vague overlordship.

The son of Alexander II, Alexander III, who had married Edward's sister Margaret, died in 1286, leaving as the only descendant of the house of Malcolm, Margaret, the Maid of Norway, Alexander III's granddaughter and Edward's grandniece. Edward willingly accepted the proposal of Eric of Norway, father of Maid Margaret, that he should conduct all negotiations touching her future. In 1289 it was arranged with Scottish representatives that Margaret should be sent to England and should there marry Edward's son, afterward the Prince of Wales, and thus unite the two kingdoms. But the death of Margaret on her way from Norway to England brought this plan to naught and threw the whole question of the Scottish succession into confusion. Claimants to the throne came forward, chief of whom were John Balliol, of the eldest collateral line, whose grandmother was eldest niece of William the Lion, and Robert Bruce, son of William's second niece. The submission of the case to Edward for settlement brought forward the difficult question as to whether the king of England was feudal overlord of Scotland. The claimants seemed to recognize him as such when they admitted in 1291 that "the sovereign seigniory of the realm of Scotland" was

vested in him. A long deliberation ensued, during which the questions debated were: (1) Were the rights of an elder sister greater than those of a younger? and (2) Was the third gen-

THE DISPUTED SUCCESSION IN SCOTLAND.

(*See table, p. 103.*)



eration in the elder line nearer the throne than the second generation in the younger line? Finally, on strictly feudal grounds, the claims of Bruce were rejected, and Balliol was declared king of an undivided Scotland. He was crowned at Scone in 1292.

Thus far Edward had in the main acted with wisdom and uprightness, but now a new difficulty arose. Edward claimed, as feudal lord, the right to hear appeals from the court of Balliol in Scotland. Though Balliol submitted, the Scots deemed this claim an infringement on their national rights, and made it evident that should Edward persist in his claim they were prepared to resist. This was important not only because it affected Edward's relations with Scotland, but also because it involved him in a struggle with the Scots at a time when a serious struggle with France was imminent.

110. Edward's Quarrel with France. — At this juncture trouble arose between the English and Norman fishermen in the English Channel, and Philip the Fair (IV) of France took up the quarrel. After a defeat of the Norman sailors off Brittany, in 1293, Philip summoned Edward, as duke of Guienne, and consequently his vassal, to answer for the deeds of his seamen. As Edward did not appear, Philip, by rather a doubtful strategy, seized Guienne, and refused to give it back. A war between the two kingdoms seemed unavoidable, and each king entered into alliances with the enemies of the other. Edward turned to the time-honored enemies of France, — the Emperor Adolph of Nassau, the king of Castile (Sancho IV), the prince of Savoy, and the counts of Flanders and Brabant, — while Philip turned to Edward's enemies at home, and not only entered into alliance with the Scots, promising to give Balliol his daughter in marriage, but also stirred up the Welsh, under one Madoc, who claimed to be the son of Llewellyn, to revolt. Thus, in 1294–1295, Edward was confronted from Scotland, France, and Wales at the same time. His resources were not at the moment sufficient for the threefold danger. In order to meet the situation he had to

increase his revenue and to gain the support of his people by calling a parliament of their representatives.

111. Edward's Revenue. — Edward had received feudal revenues, had imposed scutages, and had been granted the customary national taxes of the thirteenth century.[1] But these had proved insufficient for the growing kingdom, and he had early found a new source of income. A brisk trade in wool, owing to the activity of the Cistercian order in England, had grown up with Flanders. On his way back to England, in 1274, he had negotiated a treaty with the Flemings, which had considerably enlarged the market for wool. England provided the raw material, while the Flemings worked it up into fine cloths. To this international trade Edward had given security, in 1275, by fixing the amount of duty to be placed upon goods exported from England by the merchants, who were generally foreigners from Flanders or some of the German towns. His first parliament had granted him this duty for life: half a mark on each sack of wool, half a mark on each three hundred wool-fells, and a mark on each last[2] of leather.[3] This was another advantage to the merchants, in that it made unjust tolls (*mala tolta*) illegal. But even the returns from these new sources failed to meet his needs in the present emergency; he was driven to high-handed methods to raise additional funds.

[1] We must distinguish between revenues and taxes: The royal revenues were fees, fines, rents from the royal demesnes, and payments commuting the old right of purveyance, as well as feudal dues in the form of reliefs and aids (Lee, No. 65; Adams and Stephens, No. 33). Class taxation, properly so called, began with Danegeld, and was exclusively levied on the landholders; other similar taxes on lands were the dona, or gifts levied on the hide; carucage (Adams and Stephens, No. 30), or so much on the carucate (one hundred acres); tallage, or the tax levied on the royal demesne and the towns; scutage, or the tax levied on those who owed military service (Adams and Stephens, No. 32). But most of these had ceased to be levied by the thirteenth century and had been replaced by a more strictly national, not class, taxation, which, in the form of an exaction of a tenth, a fifteenth, etc., levied on both land and personal property, had fallen more generally on all the nation (Adams and Stephens, No. 23, for an early assessment).

[2] A bundle of two hundred hides. [3] Adams and Stephens, No. 38.

In 1294 he demanded of the clergy one-half of their goods; of the laity, one-sixth from those living in the boroughs and one-tenth from the rest. But still he was in sore straits. He could no longer exact money from the Jews, for, in 1290, he had cut off this source of supply by driving the Jews from England as a concession to the popular will.[1] He had borrowed large sums of the Florentine and other Italian bankers and mortgaged his revenues for the payment.

112. The Model Parliament. — To gain the support of his people and to raise money Edward summoned the famous parliament of 1295. Up to this time, notwithstanding Earl Simon's innovation of 1265, neither knights nor burgesses were necessary to constitute a parliament. But Edward fully understood that feudalism was on the wane and that a feudal parliament composed only of tenants-in-chief was no longer abreast of the growing interests of the kingdom. So while summoning his barons as usual,[2] he determined also to reach out and to bring into one body members of other than the feudal class, that is, members of the agricultural, clerical, and trading classes.

There were many reasons for this decision. His legal mind was certainly impressed with the old Roman doctrine, that "what touches all should be discussed by all," but he had other and more practical motives. He was in need of money and knew that the knights were wealthy landholders and that the towns were becoming the centres of trade and industry and con-

[1] On the Jews to 1206, see *The Jews of Angevin England*, by Jacobs, in English History from Contemporary Writers; Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce*, Vol. I, pp. 192–195. On their expulsion, see Cunningham, Vol. I, pp. 265–267; Jenks, *Edward I*, pp. 325–326; Stephens, *A History of the English Church*, Vol. II, pp. 20–22; Abrahams, *The Expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290* (1896). "The Jews . . . were expelled by a pious and moderate king, who yielded to the urgings of his friends and to political necessity. Their departure did not check the evils of which they were believed to be the cause; and they must be looked upon as the victims of fanaticism."

[2] For the writ of summons, see Lee, No. 81, p. 182; Adam and Stephens, No. 46, p. 83; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6 (Cheyney), p. 30; Kendall, No. 28. This writ was addressed to each baron by name.

sequently of wealth. Therefore he summoned both knights and burgesses.[1] He knew, too, that he must draw the clergy more closely to him, if he were to checkmate the papal policy, taken up more vigorously than ever in his own day by Boniface VIII, of separation of the clergy from the laity, and of entire independence of the church in its convocations. Therefore he attached to the writs addressed to the bishops a separate clause, beginning with the word *praemunientes*, bidding each bring with him his prior or dean of the cathedral chapter, the archdeacons of his diocese, one proctor or agent for his cathedral chapter, and two of his diocesan clergy.[2] Thus there were present in this famous parliament two archbishops, eighteen bishops with their lesser clergy, sixty-six abbots, three heads of religious orders, nine earls, forty-one barons, sixty-three knights of the shire, and one hundred and seventy-two citizens and burgesses, about four hundred persons in all. Later the archdeacons, priors, proctors, and abbots ceased to attend; but in other respects for five centuries the legal form of this great national body remained unchanged.

Yet it must not be supposed that this was a modern parliament. The Model Parliament did nothing more than vote Edward a subsidy of one-eleventh of the goods of the nobility and the landowners and one-seventh of the goods of the burgesses. To grant money and to present petitions from the king's subjects were the functions of this and succeeding parliaments. But by fusing "the thousand diverse interests of shires and boroughs, clergy and laity, magnates and humble folk, into one national whole," it "made possible the existence of national legislation."

[1] For the writ of summons, see Lee, No. 81, p. 183; Adams and Stephens, No. 46, p. 83; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6 (Cheyney), p. 31; Colby, No. 34; Kendall, No. 28. This writ was addressed to the sheriffs of the county, bidding them cause the required number of knights and burgesses to be elected. For the towns sending representatives in 1297, see *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 37.

[2] For the writ of summons, see Lee, No. 81; Adams and Stephens, No. 46; Gee and Hardy, No. XXX; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6 (Cheyney), pp. 29, 30. This writ was addressed to each bishop by name.

113. Submission of Scotland. — With the money thus granted by a parliament of the English people, Edward turned to face the threatening danger. Having captured Madoc in the winter of 1294–1295,[1] he took up the campaign in the north, where the Scots were already asserting their independence, and where Balliol, having entered into an alliance with Philip of France, had sent John Comyn, a son of his brother-in-law, to invade Cumberland. In 1296 Edward led an army northward, captured the frontier fortress Berwick, and on April 27 defeated the Scottish army at Dunbar and captured the castle. Step by step Edward advanced until, after many adventures, Balliol gave himself up and was dealt with as a feudal vassal who had broken his contract. Edward declared the kingdom itself forfeited. He marched as a conqueror through the land, carried off from Scone the ancient coronation stone, and treated the land as a fallen fief. Scotland seemed to be as thoroughly conquered as Wales had been; but Edward, with extraordinary blindness, failed to see that there was a national feeling in Scotland as well as in England, and that the time was past when the Scots could with impunity be handed over like the tenantry of an estate from one feudal lord to another.[2]

114. Edward's Quarrel with the Papacy. — Edward was now ready to face the troubles on the Continent. A double expedition was planned: one part under Edward himself, to land in Flanders and to coöperate with the count of Flanders, who next to Edward, himself duke of Guienne, was Philip IV's chief feudal enemy; the other, under Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, to go directly to Gascony in southern France.

But money was still wanting. Edward summoned a parliament in November, 1296, which made a grant of a twelfth of their goods; but when he demanded a grant from the clergy, the latter, headed by Archbishop Winchelsey, refused to vote a penny. It was evident that a new obstacle had arisen. What

[1] Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 212–214.

[2] On the fighting qualities of the Scots, see Kendall, No. 29.

this was soon appeared. In February, 1296, Boniface VIII had issued a famous bull, *Clericis Laicos*,[1] directed to the clergy of both France and England, forbidding them to make any grant whatsoever to the state without the authority of the Holy See. Philip had replied by decreeing that no subject of his should send any gold, silver, or jewels out of his kingdom to Rome. Edward's reply was even more startling. As the pope had threatened to excommunicate any one who disobeyed the command of the spiritual father, so Edward declared that he would outlaw any one who disobeyed the command of the temporal lord. If the church could, by excommunication, place any of the faithful beyond the pale of her protection, so the state could by outlawry place any of its members outside the limits of its own tribunals. An outlawed clerk was helpless. The king's courts would not protect him, the church courts could not. The English clergy had cause to be frightened; and though as a body they refused to yield, as individuals they finally promised to pay their quota, and actually paid in the end double the amount that Edward had originally demanded. The state had become stronger than the church in England.[2]

115. Trouble with the Barons: Statute of Quia Emptores. — Edward's war with France had thus far brought little fighting, but much trouble. Wales, Scotland, and the clergy had taken advantage of the occasion and had resisted the king, only in the end to suffer for their temerity. And now the earls and barons were to try their hand at resistance. Ever since the *quo warranto* inquiry of 1278–1279 the great lords had struggled to retain as many of their privileges as possible; and in obtaining the Statute of Entails in 1285 had in part gained their object. In 1290 another attempt to preserve their lands and their revenues had been made.

[1] Henderson, *Documents*, p. 432; Adams and Stephens, No. 47; Gee and Hardy, No. XXXI.

[2] An admirable account of this struggle may be found in Capes, Vol. III of *A History of the English Church*, Chap. II, and in Jenks, *Edward I*, pp. 269–273.

Tenants-in-chief had been accustomed to subinfeudate or alienate portions of their land for the purpose of obtaining knights to meet their military obligations; but they did not expect that the tenants who received the land from them would subinfeudate portions of these lands to others without gaining their consent. This, however, had been done in a great many cases, and as a result the tenants-in-chief had frequently lost the feudal dues arising from these lands, because their tenants and the new sub-tenants could never agree as to which should pay them. The royal courts had rather favored the practice of subinfeudation, because the conditions of trade and commerce demanded easy and frequent transfers of land. It would never do in a growing state for land to be tied up in the hands of a few. The barons, caring more about their feudal dues than about the needs of the people at large, tried to stop the practice, and in the parliament of 1290 had requested the king to promulgate a statute forbidding subinfeudation.

The king consented, but caused the new statute to be so worded as wholly to alter the intent of the barons' request. *Quia Emptores*, or the Third Statute of Westminster,[1] recognized the hardships of subinfeudation, and said that the tenant who alienated or sold the land he held of another should resign all rights over the land thus sold. This meant that in case B sold to C land which he held of A, C became the tenant not of B, but of A. The barons thought at first that they had gained their point; but when the statute went into operation, they discovered that it worked both ways, and that what affected their tenants affected also themselves as tenants of the king. Over lands that they themselves alienated, they lost all their feudal rights. This application of the statute might not have affected them so seriously had they been able to avoid selling their lands. But with the decay of feudalism and the decrease in the value of land, the alienation or sale of their unentailed

[1] Lee, No. 88; Adams and Stephens, No. 45; Henderson, *Documents*, p. 149.

lands became almost an economic necessity. As agriculture became less profitable, they could no longer afford to hold together their great estates, and had often to sell them outright. The purchasers became at once the tenants of the king.

Two results followed: the number of those who held directly of the king increased rapidly, and this increase lowered the social and political importance of the tenants-in-chief as a class; at the same time, as more and more land came to be held directly of the king, the matter of buying and selling land was simplified and made easy. This condition tended to break down the whole mediæval land system, and so hastened the destruction of feudalism.[1]

The discontent of the barons increased as they saw in the years following 1290 the actual bearing of the statute *Quia Emptores*. In 1297 they believed that the opportunity had come for revenge. When Edward announced in that year that those who owed him military service must go to Gascony, the two men whom he designated as the leaders of the expedition, the earl of Norfolk, the marshal, and the earl of Hereford, the constable, refused, saying that their service was only about the person of the king, and that they would not go to Gascony without him. Edward in anger turned on the Earl Marshal, saying, with an oath, "Sir Earl, thou shalt go or hang!" To which the earl replied, "By the same oath, I will neither go nor hang," and both earls withdrew from the royal presence with the design of raising an army to war against the king. In this, perhaps the most dangerous crisis in his career as king, Edward appealed to the remaining barons, the clergy, and the citizens of London. Before a great gathering at Westminster, July 14, 1297, he pleaded his cause and showed that he was acting for the public good. The men in the assembly stood loyally by him; and he, trusting in the oath they then

[1] See Jenks, *Edward I*, pp. 274–275; Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* (2d ed.), Vol. I, pp. 337–339.

took to support him to the death, set out for Flanders, scornful of what the earls might do.

116. Confirmation of the Charters. — But notwithstanding the loyalty of the clergy, lesser barons, and citizens at Westminster, the discontent was too widespread to be so easily dispelled. Besides the barons, the merchants had their grievance, for Edward had seized their wool in 1294, and again in 1297, when he had demanded, in addition to the customs duty granted in 1275, a "maletolte," or tax of forty shillings on every fifth sack. The continued resistance of the barons and the merchants, the pleadings of the clergy, led by Archbishop Winchelsey, and Edward's desire to compromise in order to obtain the money needed for the expedition to Flanders, led the king to perform that great constitutional act known as the Confirmation of the Charters. This he did in Ghent, on November 5, 1297. He promised "to keep in every point without breach" the Charter of Liberties and the Charter of the Forest, affirming that all judgments contrary to them should be null and void; that the charters should be read twice a year to the people; and that all who broke them should be excommunicated.

Through the influence of the barons and the merchants three far-reaching clauses were added. The king declared that the aids, tasks, and prises[1] demanded in recent years should not be deemed a precedent for the future; that the "maletolte" of wool should be released, though the customs granted in 1275 should be paid as usual; and lastly, that thenceforth no corn, wool, leather, or other goods should be seized or "maletoltes" taken, under any circumstances, and that no tallages should be levied on the towns but by the common consent of the realm.[2] This meant that henceforth parliament was to control the levying of feudal dues and customs duties and all

[1] Aids = feudal aids, scutage, etc.; tasks = grants of tenths, fifteenths, and the like; prises = customs dues and purveyance.

[2] Lee, Nos. 82, 83, 84; Adams and Stephens, Nos. 48, 49; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6 (Cheyney), pp. 17, 18.

general taxation. The king continued to levy tallages on the crown lands, but even this right was given up forty years later.[1]

117. Peace with France. — Edward's business with Flanders was soon finished. The Flemish were angry with the king for tampering with the wool trade, and gave him little help against France. Therefore he patched up a truce with Philip, June 27, 1298. This happy outcome was effected by the mediation of Boniface VIII, acting not as pope, but as plain Benedict Cajetan, a pleasant fiction that enabled Edward to accept the services of the pope without acknowledging his claims. Recompense was made for damages; and in 1299 Edward married, as his second wife, Margaret, eldest sister of Philip, and his son was betrothed to Isabella, Philip's daughter. The terms were not wholly satisfactory to Philip, but a later event rendered him powerless to reopen the conflict. The peace withdrew from Flanders the support of Edward, and Philip immediately annexed that territory. But in 1302 the Flemish burghers defeated him in the battle of Courtrai, and not only demonstrated the superiority of the burgher infantry over the heavy armed cavalry of feudalism, but also made necessary the acceptance of the truce as permanent. At Chartres, in 1303, Philip gave back Guienne; and Edward in his turn acknowledged the full sovereignty of the French king over the duchy.

118. The Scottish War of Independence. — Scotland was already in arms. Maddened by Edward's treatment of them after Dunbar, by the tyranny of his officials, and by the introduction among them of foreign soldiers, the Scots were ready to fight for their national independence. A national champion, William Wallace, made himself the leader of an uprising, and had already, September 11, 1297, won a victory at Cambuskenneth, near Stirling, over Edward's viceroy in Scotland, Earl of Warenne, him of the ready sword in

[1] Medley, *English Constitutional History*, pp. 50–51; Adams and Stephens, No. 59.

the *quo warranto* inquiry. Wallace was neither an outlaw and freebooter, as some have said, nor yet the hero that romance has made him. He was a knight of good family, a rough warrior, who in this emergency found scope for his gifts as a leader.[1] His followers increased in number until he was able to dash across the border and to sweep Northumberland with fire and sword. Edward, returning from France, gathered an army at York, and entering Scotland defeated Wallace at Falkirk, in a battle where the new bowmen won the day (July 22, 1298). But the Scots would not yield, and until 1303 the struggle continued. At last, after the final treaty had been made with Philip IV, Edward turned on the Scots, drove all before him, and for the second time subdued the country. Wallace was betrayed in 1305 and cruelly executed as a traitor; Scotland was divided into counties, and provision was made for representation in the English parliament.

But still Scotland was unsubdued. For the third time insurrection broke out, and this time the leader was Robert Bruce, the grandson of the old claimant.[2] Unable to persuade Comyn, nephew of Balliol and late regent, to join him, Bruce slew Comyn, and fleeing northward, was crowned king of Scotland at Scone in 1306. Again Edward gathered his forces, again did he push forward at the head of an army to the north; but this time the hand of death was upon him. Unduly harsh in his treatment of the Scots, and forgetting that what he was facing was a national uprising, not a feudal revolt, he roused in those last days a bitter feeling of resentment among the Scots, and made Bruce the national champion of Scotland. At Burgh-on-Sands, Edward died, July 17, 1307, with a last injunction to his barons to bury his heart in the Holy Land, and to his son to continue the advance against the Scots, bearing his bones in the very front of the line. Thus died one of the greatest of English kings.

[1] Colby, No. 35, A. [2] Colby, No. 35, B.

119. Edward II and the Scots. — But the young Edward, the most thriftless king that ever sat on an English throne, had no heart for war, and disregarding his father's word, turned back from Scotland. The Scottish nobility, who had thus far remained loyal to England, resenting the cowardliness of the king, joined in increasing numbers the forces of Bruce. The latter captured one Scottish stronghold after another. Perth, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh fell into his hands, and finally, in 1314, he advanced to the siege of Stirling. Then Edward, who during these years had been displaying his incompetence as king, was shamed into action. Gathering an army of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse from the northern shires, he advanced to the relief of Stirling. On the field of Bannockburn,[1] within sight of the walls of Stirling castle, the battle was fought, June 24, 1314, which won for the Scots their independence, and postponed union with England for four hundred years. In the most disgraceful defeat it ever suffered, the English army was driven southward in flight, and Robert Bruce became undisputed king of Scotland.

120. Misgovernment of Edward II: his Deposition. — The reign of Edward II was a long-continued struggle by the barons to check the bad government of the king and his favorites. Edward, too indolent and indifferent to carry the burden of government, gave the control of affairs first into the hands of Pierre Gaveston (or Gabaston), a Gascon knight, whom he created earl of Cornwall, and invested with honors and estates.[2] Affronted by this insult, the barons, in 1310, banded together against the favorite and set up a regency, something like that established in the Provisions of Oxford, the members of which were called the "Lords Ordainers." In the conflict that ensued Edward was forced to submit and to banish Gaveston. The regency issued a body of ordinances, redressing grievances and limiting the powers of the king.[3] At first the

[1] Frazer, *English History from Original Sources*, Nos. 5–7.
[2] Frazer, Nos. 1–3. [3] Frazer, No. 4; Adams and Stephens, No. 51.

king assented, but later he revoked his promises and restored his favorite to power. Thereupon the lords, gathering their forces, besieged Scarborough, where Gaveston lay, and seizing the favorite, put him to death. They then reëstablished the regency, with Thomas of Lancaster at its head.

Edward, though thoroughly discredited by the defeat of Bannockburn, succeeded once more in regaining his power in 1320, and turned upon Lancaster. The latter, who had totally failed as a ruler, was defeated at Boroughbridge (March, 1322), and being seized by the king, was beheaded with many others of the baronial party.[1] Edward again revoked the ordinances[2] and began his rule of favorites, this time with a certain Hugh Despenser, son of a justiciar who had been slain at Evesham. So insolent was the new favorite, that again the barons rose against the king.

The head of the baronial party was now a certain Roger Mortimer, an exile, who had been driven from England in 1322. He won over the queen, Isabella, and at first fought ostensibly in behalf of the son of Edward, a child of fourteen years. Around him gathered the discontented English barons. The Despensers were seized and hanged; and finally Edward himself, captured in Wales, was deposed and placed in confinement. He died in 1327, probably put to death by his keepers; and his son, Edward III, became king under the regency of Roger Mortimer.[3]

121. Mortimer and the Young Edward. — England never sank lower than during the four years when Isabella and Roger Mortimer governed the kingdom in the name of the young king.[4] Mortimer made a "shameful peace" with the Scots, whereby entire independence was granted them,[5] and betrothed the daughter of Edward II to David Bruce, the son of Robert. He put down with bloody cruelty two uprisings in behalf of the deposed Edward (1329–1330). But the rule of the queen

[1] Frazer, No. 12.
[2] Frazer, No. 14; Adams and Stephens, No. 53.
[3] Frazer, Nos. 15–17; Adams and Stephens, No. 55.
[4] Frazer, No. 18.
[5] Frazer, No. 20.

mother and Mortimer was short lived. In 1330 the young Edward, then eighteen years old, asserted his right, and seizing Mortimer, had him honorably tried and executed.[1] Thereupon Edward himself became king.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER VII. — An excellent account of the reign of Henry III is Richardson's *The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III* (1897). Prothero's *Life of Simon de Montfort* (1877) is the best biography in English. The volume of English History from Contemporary Writers, *The Misrule of Henry III*, may be used to advantage. Tout's *Edward I*, in the Statesmen Series, is good; Jenks's *Edward I*, in Heroes of the Nations Series, is the best popular account of the work of that great king that has ever been written. It also contains admirable chapters on "England in the Thirteenth Century" (Chap. III), and on the "Barons' War" (Chaps. IV–VI). Stephens's *The English Church from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I* (1901) and Capes's *The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (1901), which form Vols. II and III of *A History of the English Church*, are invaluable. For all that relates to the condition of the church and the rise of the friars, see Lea's *History of the Inquisition*, Vol. I; and for religious life among the people, see Cutt's *Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages in England* (S. P. C. K., 1895). The relations of England with Flanders are a very important part of the history of England from this time on. Hutton's *James and Philip Van Artevelde* is useful, but Ashley's *James and Philip Van Artevelde* (1883) is far better. There is no elaborate work on the subject in English, and reference may therefore be made to two admirable studies in French: Lettenhove, *Histoire de Flandre et Jacques d'Artevelde*, and Vanderkindere, *Le Siècle des Artevelde*. For the Welsh campaigns, Edwards' *Wales* is satisfactory; and for the relations of Edward I and Edward II with Scotland, Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*, Vol. I, Book III, Chaps. I–IV, is excellent.

[1] Frazer, No. 22.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES. EDWARD III AND RICHARD II.

122. Character of the New Era. — The reign of Edward I in England, as of Philip IV in France, marks the beginning of the end of the Middle Ages. Mediæval institutions were passing away. The great mediæval empire, founded by Charles the Great (800) and revived by Otto I (962), had steadily lost in prestige and power after the death of the last of the Hohenstaufen emperors, Frederick II, in 1250. The great mediæval church, the strongest and most influential of all institutions during the Middle Ages, which Gregory VII and Innocent III had placed higher in authority than kings and princes, was on the eve of a great downfall. The last upholder of the papal claim to temporal as well as spiritual supremacy, Boniface VIII, had been struck down at Anagni (1303) by Italian knights, as a result of the quarrel with Philip IV; and before the reign of Edward II had completed its course, the popes had taken up their residence in France at Avignon, there to remain for seventy years.

The influence of the church began to decline: bishops and priests became more secular and worldly; the lesser clergy lost their hold on the people; the teachings of the church no longer dominated the minds of men, and the commands of the pope were no longer heeded; kings were no longer willing to direct their energies to the strengthening of the church, as had St. Louis of France, or to bow to its authority, as had the Emperor Henry IV in the penance at Canossa in 1077 and King Henry II in the flagellation at the

tomb of Becket. The people, too, could see without superstitious dread a pope struck down in 1303; and before a century had passed, an archbishop of Canterbury murdered in London (1381). The Crusades no longer interested the leaders in the West. Kings in England, France, and Christian Spain were engaged in building up strong, centralized states, not in fighting Turks in the Holy Land. Royal aims became national. Kings were becoming more powerful, because they were substituting their law for the old feudal customs, and were taking into their own hands control of justice and finance. They founded schools of law, and in the place of feudal lords took lawyers for their advisers. In the administration of government they began to employ legal methods and forms.

Feudalism as a political force was passing away, though it was leaving its impress upon every part of the social structure. The new age was secular and political, rather than religious and feudal. Foreign relations assumed a new importance, diplomatic correspondence began, reports became more exact and precise, and ambassadors increased in number. Wars became national; battles were transformed into campaigns. Administration became more complicated as power became centralized in the hands of the kings; expenses doubled; revenues were increased by the taxing of new sources of wealth; commerce and trade were rapidly advancing to a position of equal importance with agriculture.

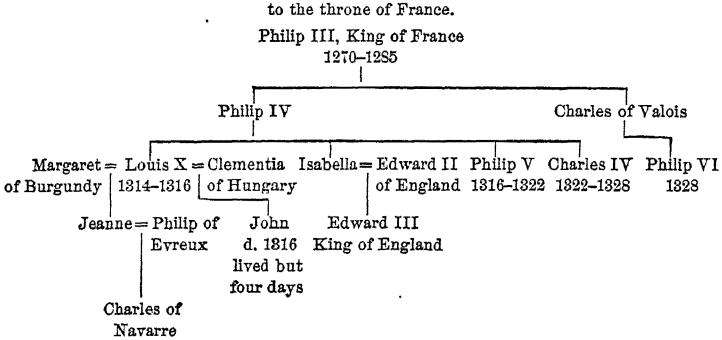
In England the period of the fourteenth century covered by the reigns of Edward III (1327–1377) and Richard II (1377–1399) was one of great contrasts. On one side were useless foreign wars, chivalry, luxury, and display among the nobility; extortion, corruption, and bad government among the administrators and political leaders; moral decay and worldliness among the higher clergy; and spiritual degeneracy among the monks and parish priests who stood nearest to the masses of the people. On the other side was great suffering among the people, due to plague and famine, to

official oppression and abuses; social unrest and excitement, due to the breaking down of the old agricultural system and the passing away of the old serfdom; religious unrest, due to loss of faith in the old doctrines and forms; economic unrest, due to the shifting of population from country to town, where centred the new commercial activity; and in general, an unsettled condition of society which shows that the era was one of change.

123. Wars with Scotland and France: the Beginning of the Hundred Years' War.— For thirty years a state of war had existed between England and Scotland. In 1329, fifteen years after the battle of Bannockburn, Robert Bruce died, and his son, a child but five years old, came to the throne as David II, under a regency. Immediately Edward Balliol, son of the old John Balliol, sought to become the king of Scotland, and appealed to Edward III for aid. To this appeal the English king responded, and in the battle of Halidon Hill, 1333,[1] won a victory over the Scots. He placed Balliol on the Scottish throne, and received from him feudal homage. Balliol became a vassal of the king of England.[2] In his turn, David Bruce fled to France, and there enlisted the aid of Philip VI, the

THE CLAIM OF EDWARD III.

to the throne of France.



[1] Frazer, Nos. 23, 24.

[2] Frazer, No. 25.

new king of the Valois house. Philip was not unwilling to aid the young David in restoring the independence of Scotland; but his real object was to provoke Edward into war with France. He wished not merely to prevent the annexation of Scotland to England, but to obtain, if possible, an opportunity of driving the English from Gascony and Guienne, and, by seizing these fiefs, to enlarge his own kingdom. He was a true successor of Philip II and Philip IV.

Edward was more than ready to take up the challenge. He had been king for nine years and was prosperous, and parliament was eager to support him. He was ambitious and full of warlike projects, and saw in a war with France an opportunity for adventure and fame. Not content with the pretext that Philip had offered in his alliance with the patriotic Scots, he made war inevitable by laying claim to the French throne as the son of Isabella, the daughter of Philip IV.

But Edward, too, as well as Philip, had a deeper motive, a determination to further the commercial interests of his realm. To lose Gascony was to sacrifice not only a fief long held by his predecessors, but also a great wine-growing district that brought wealth to England. Should he succeed in a war against France, he would be able to protect English fishermen in the Channel and to bind more closely to England the Flemish weavers, the chief customers of the English wool merchants. Edward had strengthened his relations with the Flemings by marrying a Flemish princess, Philippa of Hainault. He now still further won their support by assuming, in 1340, rather at their request than from any desire of his own, the arms and the title of the king of France. In so doing he declared himself the feudal lord of the Flemings, and broke the feudal bond which had existed between the king of France and the king of England since the Norman Conquest.[1]

[1] Frazer, Nos. 28, 29, 32, 33. A good study of Edward's reasons for claiming the throne and assuming the title will be found in *Report of American Historical Association*, 1900, pp. 537–573.

124. Parliament and the Revenues. — It was fortunate for Edward that parliament favored the war, for, since the confirmation of the charters, kings of England had to depend upon that body for an important part of their revenues.

Parliament had undergone some important changes since 1295, when Edward summoned his people to meet him at Westminster. Then parliament had been composed of three estates, the clergy, the nobility, and the commons. But sometime



SEALS OF EDWARD III

before and after the assumption of the arms of France. On the seal to the left are the arms first borne by Richard when on the crusades. On the seal to the right may be noticed in addition the royal fleur de lis of France.

during the ensuing half-century it had ceased to be an assembly of estates and had separated into two houses. The clergy, as such, had ceased to attend, preferring to make their grant of money in their own convocation. The knights, sometime about 1330, had turned away from the nobles, to whom by origin they belonged, and had joined the burgesses. The reason for this is probably to be found in the fact that the knights who came from the shires saw their interests to be identical with those of the burgesses rather than with those of the higher nobles, who in Edward III's reign were already forming a separate social caste, closely attached to the court and the king. The knights, furthermore, were summoned by general writ addressed to the

sheriff, and so, like the burgesses, were an elected body; while the lords were summoned individually by writs addressed to them by name. Thus, by 1332 we find two houses, instead of three estates: a House of Lords, composed of the barons and greater clergy, the latter of whom sat, not as ecclesiastics, but as spiritual lords; and a House of Commons, composed of the knights and the burgesses.

For carrying on the war, parliament made large grants: between 1336 and 1340 it voted a fifteenth from the knights and barons, a tenth from the towns, and a tenth from the clergy; in 1336 a wool tax of forty shillings a sack; in 1338 half the wool of the kingdom; in 1339 the ninth lamb, the ninth fleece, the ninth sheaf. In return, Edward made concessions. He abolished Englishry [1] and the right of purveyance,[2] and consented that parliament should impose all taxes and should see how the money was spent.[3] But parliament was inexperienced as a national council, and did not hold the king very strictly to his promises.

125. Sources of Edward's Wealth. — What were the sources of wealth that made it possible for parliament to vote such heavy grants for the French war? We have been speaking of towns, burgesses, and wool. These words show that new economic interests were growing up side by side with the old agriculture. Up to this time the towns, which were the centres of trade, had aimed to keep the control of the business in their own hands, in order to prevent outsiders, or "foreigners," from getting a share of it. Soon after the Conquest, merchant gilds had sprung up in the majority of towns, and each gild regulated, with great minuteness, trade and industry of every

[1] This was the obligation resting on the hundred, if it wished to escape a heavy fine, to prove, in case of murder, that the murdered man was an Englishman. William the Conqueror had made the hundred responsible for the murder of Normans. (See p. 75.) Adams and Stephens, No. 58.

[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 78.

[3] Adams and Stephens, Nos. 59, 61. After this the king could not levy tallages on his crown lands (see p. 155).

kind within the town.[1] No one not a member of the gild could do business in the town except under rigid conditions. Trade and commerce were entirely under the control of the town, that is, they were managed neither by individuals as such nor by the state. In the reign of Edward III the merchant gild began to give place to the craft gilds, of which there might be many in each town,[2] whereas there was never more than one merchant gild. The chief difference between these gilds lay in this, that the merchant gild controlled all the trading interests of the town, while each craft gild dealt only with its own particular industry. In time the craft gilds supplanted the merchant gild, and became equally exclusive and narrow in their policy. Trade still remained under the control of the towns, which in the fourteenth century were the chief centres of wealth in the kingdom.

The towns did business, of course, with other English towns, but they also traded with towns abroad. As yet, however, the English had no merchant ships and never went themselves to foreign cities, so that all buying and selling abroad was done by aliens. Furthermore, the right to engage in such foreign trade was conferred on certain specially favored aliens. The merchants of Flanders and northern France enjoyed a monopoly of the trade, and lived in England at the Steelyard, a fortified group of buildings in London on the bank of the Thames. Some of the privileges were later conferred on merchants of the Baltic cities composing the Hanseatic League. Edward III encouraged aliens to bring goods to England, and in 1335, granted freedom of trade to all outsiders. This unusually liberal policy was probably due to Edward's desire to increase his revenue from the customs, and to make it easier to negotiate loans from the aliens, while waiting for the money granted by parliament to be collected. But his scheme was

[1] For documents illustrating the merchant gild, see *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Cheyney, "English Towns and Gilds"), § III.

[2] *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Cheyney, "English Towns and Gilds"), §§ III, IV.

premature; England was not ready for so free a trade, and the policy was reversed in 1392.

At the same time Edward sought to regulate a new exporting business that had grown up under his grandfather. For convenience, merchants were sending the most important or staple goods, such as wool, hides, leather, and tin, to one Continental city, whence they were dispersed. This gathering of exports in one city had many advantages; the goods in transit were more easily protected against pirates,[1] the customs duties were more conveniently levied, and the business of buying and selling was more readily carried on. The men who exported these commodities were called Staplers, and the city to which they sent them was called the Staple. At first Edward tried a plan similar to that adopted toward aliens in England, that is, he abolished the Staple and allowed English merchants to send their wool and other commodities where they pleased. But this plan did not work well, and in 1338 he made Antwerp and, in 1340, Bruges foreign staple towns. Eight years after, he made Calais the staple for tin, lead, feathers, and woolen cloth, and in 1353[2] substituted for Bruges ten towns in England, Ireland, and Wales, as staples for wool and leather. From this time until 1557, when it was taken by the French, Calais remained the only continental staple town. In 1557 the staple was removed to Holland, where it remained until abolished in 1617.

The increasing wealth of the towns, largely due to the expansion of foreign trade, the greater revenue derived from export and import duties, and the rising credit of the kingdom, which made the negotiating of loans easier, gave Edward the money that he needed to carry on the French war.

126. The War with France. — In the actual prosecution of the war, Edward was supported in part by the old feudal army and in part by the native yeomanry of England. The lords, who composed the cavalry, threw themselves into the war as

[1] For a description of a convoy, see Frazer, No. 26.

[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 74.

if it were but a tournament governed by the rules of chivalry. Knights were eager for adventure; even ladies followed the armies to bestow their favors on successful warriors. But the most important part of Edward's army was national, not feudal, in character. The men of the Assize of Arms and the Statute of Winchester, that is, the freemen, armed with lances, bows and arrows, and other weapons, made up the infantry. These yeomen, though often unwillingly pressed into service, formed an efficient military force, the like of which was unknown on the Continent.

The beginning of English victory was the naval battle of Sluys (1340), which was fought between the English and the French fleets off the Flemish coast, and resulted in the destruction of the French navy.[1] Edward then determined on an invasion of France, and in 1346 landed on the coast at Cherbourg. After pushing his way inland, — a dangerous venture, for without connection with the seacoast he was in constant danger of being cut off and surrounded in a hostile land by the enemy's forces, — he was brought to bay by Philip, near the little town of Crécy, August 26, 1346. Here a famous battle was fought, in which the English archers won a victory over the feudal army of the French king. The bowmen placed in the front of the battle first shot down mercilessly the Genoese mercenaries, and then repelled every advance of the armed feudal cavalry. In this battle the fifteen-year-old Black Prince (of Wales) — so called, it may be, from the black armor he wore — won his spurs and the honor of knighthood.[2] The battle of Crécy testifies to the insight of the kings who armed and organized the commons of England as a fighting force more powerful than the feudal array and the mercenaries of either England or France.

From Crécy, Edward advanced to Calais and besieged it. Philip was unable to relieve the city, and David Bruce, his

[1] Frazer, Nos. 30, 31.

[2] Frazer, Nos. 38–40; Colby, No. 39; Kendall, No. 30.

ally, hoping to aid him by diverting the attention of Edward, invaded the northern counties of England. On October 17, 1346, Bruce was defeated and captured at the battle of Neville's Cross, by Queen Philippa and the barons who had remained in England.[1] This disaster deprived Philip of aid from Scotland and made inevitable the fall of Calais. After holding out for a year, Calais was starved into surrender. It was taken August 4, 1347,[2] and remained a possession of the English kings for more than two hundred years.

The first period of the war ended with the capture of Calais, but in 1355 war was renewed. Philip had died in 1350, and his son John took up the struggle. At the same time the Scots renewed the attack from the north. In the summer of 1355, Edward mercilessly devastated Lothian out of wrath against Scotland, while his son, the Black Prince, starting from Gascony, harried central France from Guienne to Poitiers. At the latter town the prince was confronted by a French army, larger than his own, under the command of John himself, and was compelled to fight for his life. But at Poitiers, as at Crécy, the English archers carried the day. King John was captured and the French forces completely defeated. The battle was fought on September 19, 1356.[3]

The succession of victories, the capture of King John, the ruin which had fallen on the country, forced the French to come to peace with the English. At Bretigny, in 1360, a treaty was signed. According to this treaty, Edward gave up his claim to the French throne and to all lands in northern France except Calais and Ponthieu and some other towns and castles. In return, he received the whole of the duchies of Gascony and Guienne, to be held by him henceforth in full sovereignty and no longer as a vassal of the French king, and in addition a ransom for the French king of three million gold crowns.[4] Three years before, he had made peace with Scotland, had

[1] Frazer, Nos. 41, 42; Kendall, No. 31.
[2] Frazer, No. 43.
[3] Frazer, Nos. 51–54.
[4] Frazer, No. 55.

released David Bruce, and, in return for one hundred thousand marks ransom money and the towns of Berwick and Roxburgh, acknowledged Bruce's title to the crown.

127. The Position of Edward III. — In 1360 Edward seemed to be at the height of his success. Victor at Crécy, Calais, Neville's Cross, and Poitiers, the master of two kings, one of France and the other of Scotland, he had been able to dictate a peace which freed the English king from his vassalage to the king of France and which restored to the English crown lands in southern France that had been considered lost forever. His reign, thus far, had been a time of splendor and display. French booty and money were poured into England, and luxury invaded the life of the court. Edward encouraged an artificial chivalry, which, with its Order of the Garter, the Thistle, and the Golden Fleece, its Round Table and Courts of Love, gave rise to a social caste far different from the truer feudal chivalry of the Crusades. Of this life Froissart and Chaucer wrote, the former describing its wars, diplomacy, and chivalry, in the familiar French language of the court; the latter depicting the pleasures of its middle and upper classes, in his native English tongue.[1] The contrast is striking. The wars with France were arousing national enthusiasm, the writings of Gower and Chaucer were giving wider currency to the humble English speech,[2] and the battles of Crécy and Poitiers were raising the free English tenantry into an instrument of great military efficiency. On the other hand, the feudal nobility were becoming a social and political clique, feudal life was becoming stereotyped and unreal, and the chasm between the nobility and the people was becoming wider than ever.

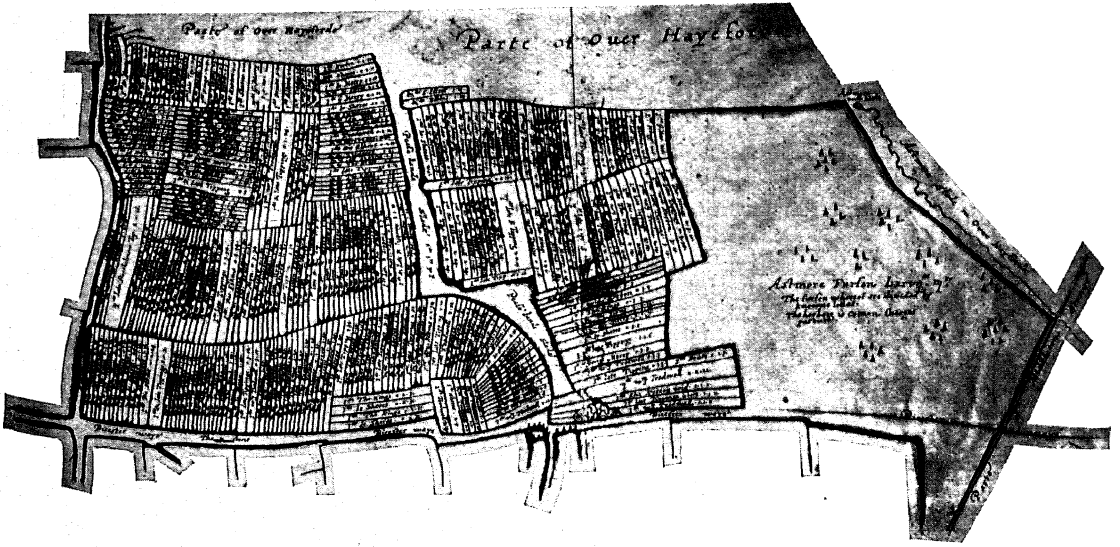
[1] No one has brought this out more picturesquely than Taine, *English Literature*, Book I, Chap. II, § V; Chap. III, §§ I–V. Compare also Goldwin Smith, *The United Kingdom*, Vol. I, pp. 210 ff., and Cornish, *Chivalry* (Social Science Series), 1901.

[2] English was now used for the first time in the law courts. Frazer, Part II, No. 1; also Nos. 2, 3; Adams and Stephens, No. 78.

128. The Black Death.[1] — In the period that intervened between the battles of Crécy and Poitiers a great epidemic spread over England, known as the Black Death. During the years 1348 and 1349, in consequence of this epidemic, it is estimated that from a third to a half of the population perished. The fearful disease spared no class of society, but fell most heavily upon the artisans in the towns, the agricultural laborers in the country, the monks, and the parish priests. At one time in London the mortality rose to two hundred a day; in Norfolk two-thirds of the parish clergy died; while in certain manors of from three to four hundred population, more than a hundred and fifty of the inhabitants were carried off. The tenantry of the abbey of Ramsey perished wholesale. England did not suffer more than did Italy and the Mediterranean coast lands, but the effects of the frightful mortality were probably greater in England than elsewhere, owing to the social conditions prevailing in that country.

129. The Manorial System. — England at this time, outside of the great towns, was a land of manors. The vills and the villagers had been gradually coming under the authority of lords — manorial lords, of whom the highest was the king, the lowest a knight of the shire or some freeholder of the county, not of feudal rank. In the period before the Black Death, the depressing of the peasantry, which had gone steadily on since the Norman Conquest, reached its lowest point, and the lot of the peasant was hardest on the lands of the large religious houses like Ramsey, Ely, and Gloucester. All land in England was at this time supposedly under a lord. The obligation of the villagers, the peasants, to remain for life and to labor on their lord's lands by the thirteenth century prevailed throughout central and southern England. Such an obligation was

[1] Frazer, Nos. 44, 45; Colby, No. 40; Lee, No. 94; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 5 (Cheyney, "England in the time of Wycliffe"), pp. 2–3; Kendall, No. 33.



ONE OF THE OPEN FIELDS OF THE MANOR OF LOWER HEYFORD, OXFORDSHIRE.

This manor now belongs to Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In the fourteenth century it was held by Peter de la Mare, Speaker of the Good Parliament (p. 178).

necessary at this time. Feudal lords derived their wealth from their lands; their lands had to be cultivated; and inasmuch as hired labor had hardly as yet come into existence, the only persons to cultivate them were the tenants. Upon the manors the methods of cultivation were for the most part everywhere the same.[1] The villagers worked in the open fields, ploughed, sowed, and harvested, much as they had done for



A VILLAGE STREET: COTTAGES IN GODSHILL, ISLE OF WIGHT.

centuries. A large portion of their time they devoted to the demesne lands, consisting of those strips in the great open fields that were held by the lord. They were required to make certain payments, some of which were regularly sent in for the support of the lord; others, such as *chevage*,[2] *merchet*,[3] and the

[1] Read the description in Jenks, *Edward I*, pp. 45–52; Jessopp, *Coming of the Friars*, 2d essay; Kendall, No. 32.

[2] *Chevage* was a small personal tax paid by the entire male population of the manor, as a symbol of the power of the lord.

[3] *Merchet* was a payment made whenever the daughter of the villein married.

like, only occasionally, as the token of their semi-servile condition. The amount of both labor and payments was fixed by the custom of the manor.

The king had many hundreds of manors; the smallest "lord," perhaps but one. From the "works" and payments of his villeins, each landowner derived his means of support. The greater lords had numbers of officials, bailiffs, beadles, reeves, to manage their estates and to collect their revenues.[1] They had courts also at which the tenants were bound to appear, and which represented an important part of their authority. The old manor court had begun to divide into the Court Leet and the Customary Court. The former met twice a year, and looked after the keeping of the peace and the punishing of minor breaches of the law; the latter dealt with matters connected with the manor only, and met every three weeks. Later, there separated from the Customary Court the Court Baron, which dealt only with questions of land tenure, and was attended only by the free tenants. The manors varied greatly in size, generally containing only one vill; but the boundaries of the manor were by no means always the same as the boundaries of the vill. There was no general rule or law governing the relations of lord and villeins. All was determined by local custom, "the custom of the manor."

These conditions of villeinage prevailed in all the countries of western Europe, remaining longest in central Europe, and undergoing modifications in England and France at about the same time. The changes that indicate the transition from the mediæval system of agriculture to one more modern were at this time but just beginning to appear, and were not to be completed for a century and a half. But, in order to understand the effects of the Black Death, we must say a word about these changes here. Population was increasing, and land was grow-

[1] There are a number of thirteenth century treatises on the management of estates. They have been published by the Royal Historical Society, 1890, under the title of the best known of the writers, *Walter of Henley*, with a valuable introduction by Dr. Cunningham.

ing scarce. The old, wasteful methods of agriculture could not compete with the new conditions in trade and industry. The Crusades had increased the amount of money in circulation, first in the towns and at court, and gradually in the country districts. Two results followed: (1) lords let out their lands at a money rent to farmers, sometimes their own bailiffs, who tried to make a profit out of agriculture; (2) many villeins began to commute their labor services for money, while others, attracted by the new opportunities in the towns, began to desert the manors. In order to fill their places, hired laborers, hitherto very rare, had to be obtained. Thus a new system of leased farms and paid labor began to be introduced into the agricultural organization.

130. The Effects of the Black Death: Statute of Laborers.—The substitution of the hired laborer for the old villein had not by any means become general at the time of the Black Death, but "wages" instead of "works" had gained an important place. The effect of that great plague was to depopulate the manors, and at the same time to create a great scarcity in the supply of hired laborers. The demand for laborers remained the same, for the same amount of land had to be cultivated, and the lords refused to relax, in any degree, their demands for revenue. Therefore wages immediately rose. Labor increased in value, while land decreased. Prices, too, rose, and the situation was rendered worse by bad crops, murrain among the sheep, and more frequent desertion of the villeins. Then king and parliament stepped in and tried to regulate wages by legislation. Now, parliament was, in the main, a body of landowners, so that what it did was done in its own interest, and not in the interest of the peasantry.

First, in 1349, the king issued a decree addressed to the sheriffs, bidding them see that every man and woman, free and bond, return to service at the old wages.[1] This decree was

[1] Frazer, No. 46; Adams and Stephens, No. 69; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 5 (Cheyney, "England in Time of Wycliffe"), pp. 3–5.

embodied by parliament in a statute, in 1351, known as the Statute of Laborers, designed to keep wages, by main force, where they had been before the Black Death.[1] The statute forbade laborers in the country and artisans in the cities to receive more than they had been customarily paid in 1346, and forbade, likewise, lords of towns and manors to pay higher wages, on penalty of a fine treble the amount paid. This futile ordinance was repeated six times in the ensuing thirty years, but the events of 1381 show how useless this attempt at legislation was.

131. Last Years of Edward III.—The period from 1360 to 1377 was one of steady decline in the greatness and brilliancy of the king's reign. Notwithstanding the peace of Bretigny, the war with France was renewed on one pretext or another, and a number of campaigns were fought. In behalf of Pedro of Spain, Edward himself fought in Aquitaine in conjunction with the Black Prince, who was governor of that province (1367). The Black Prince spent a year and much money putting down revolts among the Poitevins (1369–1370), and in 1370[2] cruelly massacred many of the citizens of Limoges. After 1370, province after province in France withdrew its allegiance from the king of England.[3] The French king, Charles V, and his able general, Bertrand du Guesclin, regained the better part of what had been lost at Bretigny; and though John of Gaunt, son of Edward III, ravaged the country from Calais to Bordeaux, he did little to restore English prestige or English control. Gregory XI, at Avignon, made every effort to bring about peace between France and England, even delaying his return to Rome in order to accomplish his object. But his efforts were vain. France was fighting for the old purpose of driving the English out of the country, and was succeeding. By 1375 the English held little more than the cities of Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Calais.

[1] Lee, No. 95; Adams and Stephens, No. 70; Frazer, Nos. 48, 49.
[2] Frazer, Part II, No. 8. [3] Frazer, Part II, No. 9.

At home administration had become very corrupt. The king was mentally broken and under the control of John of Gaunt. The Black Prince was suffering from a wasting disease which had compelled him to return from Aquitaine in 1370, and which wholly unfitted him for taking part in the government. A clique of the friends of John of Gaunt controlled affairs. Lord Latimer, Lord Neville, and Richard Lyons, a merchant of London, systematically robbed the nation by illegal exactions, by receiving privileges and abusing them, and by raising prices and appropriating the proceeds.

132. The Good Parliament.[1] — So empty had become the treasury in 1376, in consequence of the costly wars and the corruption at court, that the king's privy council decided to summon parliament. This body had grown steadily in power during the reign of Edward III, largely through practice and experience, and had established effectively its right to control the grant of money to the king. The representatives of the towns and counties were becoming accustomed to their position, and were taking a more active part in parliamentary proceedings, ready, should occasion offer, to make an attempt to check the abuses of the government, and to assume some of those powers that the baronage had hitherto exclusively exercised.

In 1376 the opportunity came. Summoned for the purpose of levying taxes, the seventy-four knights of the shire and the two hundred citizens and burgesses, in an angry mood, determined, before they granted a penny of supplies,[2] to get rid of the men who had mismanaged affairs and robbed the treasury. Supported by the Black Prince, who, a helpless invalid, resented the tyrannical attitude of his younger brother John of Gaunt, they took a new and unexpected stand. They declared that the king would have had enough money had the realm been wisely governed, and that as long as evil men were in office, no grant of theirs could bring prosperity to the kingdom. To make their protest more effective, they elected a

[1] Frazer, Part II, No. 11.

[2] Frazer, Part II, No. 10.

head, Peter de la Mare, a knight of the shire of Hereford, to act as their speaker, and through him they formally impeached Lord Latimer and Richard Lyons, as traitors to the king, and demanded that they be deprived of their offices. John of Gaunt, anxious to appease the people, whose friend he always claimed to be, and fearing the power of the Black Prince, yielded to the demand of the Commons. He removed Lord Latimer and confiscated his goods, but though the Lords in full parliament decreed the latter's imprisonment, he allowed him to find bail among the lords and prelates. Richard Lyons, however, was imprisoned, deprived of all his lands, and forbidden ever to hold office again.[1]

These were bold acts, and it is hardly surprising that the knights and burgesses were unable to maintain their position. The death of the Black Prince during the sitting of parliament[2] greatly discouraged their leaders and left them more or less at the mercy of John of Gaunt. The latter, who had yielded to their demands only to strengthen his own position, now came out in his true colors, and led a reaction against the work of the Good Parliament. He brought back Lord Latimer; suffered Alice Perrers, the king's mistress, whom the Good Parliament had banished, to return; disgraced and drove from court Archbishop Wykeham,[3] who had led the cause of the Commons in the king's council; and threw Peter de la Mare into prison. A packed parliament of 1377 confirmed these acts.

The last decade of Edward III's reign was a period of national disgrace. The naval supremacy won at Sluys was gone; the military prestige gained at Crécy and Poitiers had been likewise forfeited. The war had increased taxation and intensified the popular discontent. The trade of the kingdom had declined, owing to the loss of power at sea, and French and Spanish sea-rovers and pirates preyed on English commerce.

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 82.

[2] Frazer, Part II, No. 12.

[3] Frazer, Part II, No. 14.

At home popular disapproval of conditions in church and state was everywhere becoming manifest.

133. State and Church: Religious Degeneration. — The church as well as the state had lost both in importance and influence. The lives of the popes at Avignon had gained for them little respect in England; while their continued residence in a French city made them appear to the English as allies of England's enemy, the king of France.

For three-quarters of a century parliament had been disputing the right of the pope to interfere in English affairs. In 1299 it had denied the pope's claim to Scotland as a fief of Rome.[1] In 1307 it had forbidden the heads of religious houses to send any money to Rome,[2] and had protested against the way higher ecclesiastical officials abroad were forcing money from the monasteries and religious houses in England. Toward the middle of the century its policy became more definite. The popes had been accustomed to fill English church offices, that is, to appoint bishops, abbots, and other clergy at pleasure. This was called the right of provision. In 1351 parliament passed the first Statute of Provisors,[3] attacking this privilege and imposing severe penalties upon all who received benefices at the hands of the pope. In like manner, the right of appeal to the pope had been forbidden in 1353 by the first Statute of Præmunire,[4] and both of these decrees had been confirmed in 1363. The king, however, rarely enforced these statutes, and they had to be repeated again and again. These acts were the acts of parliament, and not of the clergy; that is, they were the acts of the state, and not of the church. The clergy accepted the decrees of the church councils and the decretals

[1] Gee and Hardy, No. XXXII.

[2] Gee and Hardy, No. XXXIII; Adams and Stephens, No. 50; Lee, No. 87.

[3] Adams and Stephens, No. 71; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 5 (Cheyney), p. 6, gives an extract from the statute of 1352; also Lee, No. 90.

[4] Gee and Hardy, No. XXXV; Adams and Stephens, No. 73. Lee, No. 92, calls it a Second Statute of Provisors. This is wrong; the statute had nothing to do with "provision of benefices."

of the pope as absolutely binding upon their own courts, and recognized no special canon law of their own.[1] Parliament, in passing these laws, was in reality making war not only on the pope, but also on the clergy in England, who carried out the papal orders. The struggle thus begun was to be continued under Richard II.

At the very time when parliament was limiting the authority of the pope in England, the people were becoming thoroughly dissatisfied with the way in which the English clergy were performing their religious duties. The higher clergy, bishops and abbots, had become worldly and avaricious, shunning their spiritual obligations, and engaging in matters of administration, finance, and diplomacy. The monasteries and prelates had absorbed great wealth, and instead of being centres of life and light to the people, had become objects of hatred. The lesser clergy, the parish priests, were wretchedly poor, uneducated, and inefficient, often unwilling and unable to perform their parish duties. Many parishes were vacant because of the Black Death. The wealth of the church was badly distributed. Foreign churchmen, absentee bishops, and the monasteries received the bulk of the revenues, while the parishes received little or nothing.

William Langland, the author of *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, himself perhaps a villein who had risen to the rank of the lesser clergy and had spent his life in the performance of his duties, presents a sorrowful picture of the condition of the friars and the parochial priests. The latter, he says, neglected their charges, quarrelled with the friars, and lived as wolves among their own sheep.[2]

[1] See the first three essays in Maitland's remarkable work, *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England*, particularly Essay II.

[2] *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*, ed. Skeat, 1886, Vol. I, Text C. VII, 119–129, VIII, 1–67, XVII, 241–278. A modern version of this poem is soon to be issued in the King's Classics Series. For Langland, whose tale was the wretchedness of the people, as Chaucer's was the pleasure of the aristocratic class, see Taine, pp. 100 ff. Chaucer and Langland should

inveighed against the friars, whom he charged with hypocrisy and worldliness;[1] he inspired a body of "poor priests" to preach to the people;[2] and he gave to these priests an English Bible, translated by himself or his followers, probably the most complete version issued up to this time.[3]

135. Accession of Richard II. — In 1377 Edward III died, and his grandson, Richard, son of the Black Prince, ascended the throne without opposition. The old king had outlived his usefulness and had passed away unmourned,[4] and the young king, a mere lad of ten, began his career in an evil time. The French were threatening to invade England and were actually landing on the coast of Kent.[5] Parties at court, in spite of a momentary reconciliation, were engaged in factional quarrels and were struggling with each other for the control of the government. The baronage, with John of Gaunt as their leading representative, had degenerated into a body of selfish parasites, preying on the wealth of the kingdom.

Richard's reign would be of little interest in English history were the wars with France and the bad management of those in authority the only matters to be considered. Of infinitely deeper significance is the unrest among the people of which Langland speaks, the discontent of peasants, artisans, and lesser clergy with the way taxes were levied, wealth was distributed, law administered, and religion taught. The troubles at court and the problem of Richard's personal character are of but little importance when compared with the peasants' revolt, the rise of the Lollards, and the activities of parliament. The revolting classes of Richard's reign were the ancestors of those who formed the backbone of the English nation in the days of the Tudors and the Stuarts; whereas the descendants of the selfish and greedy nobility disappeared during the baronial wars of the next century.

[1] Frazer, Part II, No. 23.

[2] *Report of American Hist. Assoc.*, 1899, pp. 449-483, "The Poor Priests."

[3] The matter is in dispute; see Gasquet, *The Old English Bible*, pp. 102-178; Capes, pp. 124-131. [4] Frazer, Part II, Nos. 15, 16. [5] Frazer, Part II, No. 17.

136. The Condition and Grievances of the Peasantry. — We have seen that during the fourteenth century the condition of the villeins had been improving; that they had been to a small degree commuting their labor for money payments; that many of them had fled from the manors and had taken up service or artisan work in the towns; and that the manorial lords had been compelled to employ hired laborers, whose wages the Statute of Laborers had tried in vain to regulate. We have seen, in fact, that the old agricultural system was breaking down; that the growth of towns and of commerce was giving to the peasantry new means of livelihood; and that the old system itself was not adapted to meet the competition of trade, or to face such grave emergencies as the Black Death. The process of transformation was a very slow one, and even in 1380 the peasantry were still performing their old services on a great many manors. But having once begun to throw off some of the old obligations, they were certain to be discontented with those that remained. Serfdom itself was, therefore, their greatest grievance.

Other grievances, however, were not wanting. The villeins were restless under the yoke of their labor services and the payments which were written down on the rolls of the manors; the hired laborers, in their turn, hated the statutes fixing their wages, and more still the lawyers and justices of the peace who enforced the law against them. The people in general hated the rich, whether nobles or merchants, for their indifference, and the monasteries for their tyranny and selfishness. They sided with the parish priests in their poverty, and viewed with envy the separation of classes and the unequal distribution of wealth. They detested the provisors who came among them, and likewise resented the coming of the Flemish weavers whom Edward III had encouraged to ply their trade in England.[1] The laboring classes everywhere felt that the government was against them, and was not only

[1] Frazer, Part I, No. 27.

heavily taxing them, but was leaving them often unprotected against the attacks of French, Welsh, and Scots on the borders.

137. The Peasant Revolt of 1381. — A single act turned the irritation of the laboring and artisan classes into a revolt. So great had become the deficit of the government that three poll taxes were levied in succession, the last of which, authorized in November, 1380, was exceedingly heavy.[1] The tax amounted to three groats, or twelvepence, on every lay person, male or female, of the age of fifteen years. Two-thirds of the tax was to be collected in January, 1381, and the remainder in the following June. On the appearance of the tax-collectors, Essex and Kent gave the first signal for revolt, followed by Norfolk, Suffolk, and other counties; and before the year was over a large portion of southern England, from the Humber to the Severn, was to a greater or less extent in insurrection.

In the three populous counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge, where the movement was earliest checked, the revolt had the appearance of a concerted uprising instigated by revolutionary agents working secretly among the people.[2] The mob of Suffolk, consisting of villeins, hired laborers, members of the lesser clergy, tradesmen, and artisans, under the leadership of John Wrawe, a priest, slew John de Cavendish, the king's justice, who had been zealous in enforcing the Statute of Laborers, sacked manor-houses, and destroyed court rolls and manorial documents. Five days later, June 17, Norfolk rose, beheaded Sir Robert Salle, sacked houses in Norwich, opened jails, plundered and burned at will. They showed their hostility for the church and the law and their hatred of court rolls and kindred documents. The Cambridge mob wrecked manor-houses, plundered towns, and destroyed valuable papers. But this mob rule was brief. Before the end of June the

[1] The poll taxes of 1377, 1379, and 1380 are given in Adams and Stephens, Nos. 83, 87, 88; that of 1379, in Frazer, Part II, No. 29.

[2] The account of Walsingham, dealing with the East Anglian uprising, is in Frazer, Part II, No. 37.

rioting had been put down by Spencer, the warlike bishop of Norwich, and the leaders were hanged and quartered.

While this revolt was taking place, another uprising occurred on the southern side of the Thames.[1] Early in June, Dartford had become the centre of a revolution in Kent, and a body of rioters sacked Canterbury, murdered a number of persons, and advanced on London. On June 12, men from Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Essex came together at Blackheath. John Ball the preacher and Wat Tyler[2] the leader were at their head. Convinced that John of Gaunt was responsible for the evils that had come upon the country, the insurgents directed their wrath against him, and against Sudbury the archbishop, Hales the treasurer, and Legge the author of the poll tax. On the 13th the rebels entered London, and, joined by the 'prentices of the city, destroyed the Savoy,[3] John of Gaunt's palace, Hales's manor-house, the Temple (the home of the lawyers), and the Inns of Court. The king and others sought refuge in the Tower.[4] Finally, Richard agreed to meet the insurgents at Mile End, and there on the 14th promised to abolish serfdom and all forms of servile labor, to pardon all the rebels, to permit the villeins to trade outside the manors in the towns, and to fix rents of lands at fourpence an acre.

With their demands apparently satisfied, the more moderate of the insurgents dispersed to their homes. But others, more radical, were already enacting a tragedy at the Tower. Breaking in, they murdered Sudbury, Hales, and Legge, while others slew many Flemings in the city. Again the king faced the rioters — those of them that remained — at Smith Field. There Wat Tyler was slain by the mayor of London, and the

[1] The account of Froissart, dealing with Kent, is in Frazer, Part II, No. 30; Kendall, No. 34; and Colby, No. 42. See also Frazer, Part II, Nos. 32, 33.

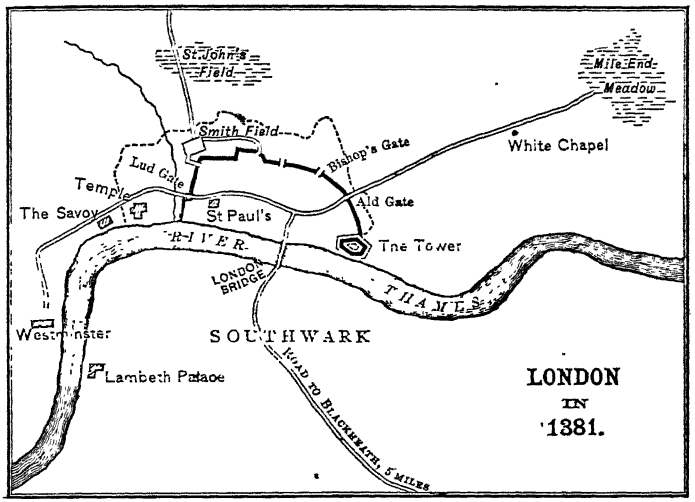
[2] The best and fairest biography of Wat Tyler is by Tait in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[3] This was one of the few buildings remaining to remind Englishmen of the rule of the foreigners (Savoyards, many of them) under Henry III.

[4] Frazer, Part II, No. 34.

king, seizing the opportune moment, when confused by the loss of their leader they were uncertain what to do, was able to induce them to depart. From that moment the cause of the rebels was lost.[1] On the 17th they were finally dispersed.

The reprisals were frightful. Rioters were hanged without mercy. Chief Justice Tressilian held bloody assizes in Essex,



and none of the rebels were spared. John Ball was caught and hanged. Parliament compelled the king to repeal all the liberating charters and itself passed an act annulling all the concessions that had been made.[2]

[1] In addition to the valuable account of this phase of the uprising given by Trevelyan in his *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, the critical study of the movement by Kriehn (*American Historical Review*, 1902) should be examined. I have embodied some of his conclusions in the above brief statement. His criticism of Froissart's narrative as idealizing the part played by king and nobles is important; while his attempt to reconstruct the actual scenes at Mile End and Smith Field is deserving of careful consideration. He believes that the murder of Wat Tyler was a prearranged affair, deliberately planned by the king's advisers. The most recent work is by Oman, *Uprising of 1381* (1906).

[2] *Translations and Reprints*, Part II, No. 5 (Cheyney), pp. 19, 20.

The results, so far as villeinage was concerned, were probably slight. The great value of the revolt lies in the fact that it gives us a view of the laboring classes of England at a critical time in their history, when they were passing out of villeinage into freedom, and when payments in kind were being replaced by payments in money. The revolt did little to hasten this process; for the landlords, taking advantage of an unsuccessful uprising, probably made the lot of the peasant for the time being harder than it had been before. Certain it is that the releasing of the tenantry from the old bondage was not completed for another century.

138. A Religious Revolt: the Lollards. — Popular discontent, thus expressed on the social and economic side in the revolt of the peasants, found expression on the religious side in the rise of the Lollards. The causes of this religious revolt are not difficult to discover. The authority of the mediæval church was declining: abroad, the great schism of 1378, which had brought two popes into existence, had destroyed the prestige of the church and dimmed men's reverence for it; at home the attacks made by the state since 1350, and by Wiclif during the last years of Edward III's reign, had weakened its hold upon the people. Thus the way was prepared for the spread of Wiclif's teachings, and though no sect was organized, yet a large body of followers arose, who accepted many of Wiclif's ideas. These followers were called Lollards.[1] They denounced the sacraments, believed in preaching as the chief aid in effecting conversion, denied transubstantiation, and opposed confession and the worship of saints.[2] Before the peasants' revolt, little had been done to check this heresy; but after 1381, though no Lol-

[1] "The term 'Lollard,' which was constantly applied at this time to the religious malcontents, had been used before in German towns to designate the men who chanted or mumbled hymns and sacred music, and so corresponds alike in origin and meaning to the epithet of 'canting' in our own tongue." Capes, *History of the English Church*, Vol. III, p. 169. For a description of the Lollards, see Frazer, Part II, No. 43.

[2] Johnston, *English Historical Reprints*, Part I, pp. 25–27, "The Twenty-five Articles of the Lollards." See also Gee and Hardy, No. XLI.


WESTERN EUROPE
At the time of the
PEACE OF BRETIGNY
1360.
Red Line Indicates Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire.
SCALE OF MILES
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ENGLAND
FRANCE
DENMARK
PRUSSIA
BOHEMIA
HUNGARY
POLAND
SWEDEN
NORWAY
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
CASTILE
ARAGON
GRANADA
BAVARIA
SAVOY
PAPAL STATES
NAPLES
SICILY
SARDINIA
CORSICA
BRITTANY
AQUITAINE
BURGUNDY
PROVENCE
LORRAINE
BRABANT
FLANDERS
HOLLAND
SAXONY
BRANDENBURG
POMERANIA
MORAVIA
STYRIA
CROATIA
BOSNIA
FRIULI
BAY OF BISCAY
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Stockholm
Copenhagen
Hamburg
Bremen
Berlin
Dresden
Prague
Vienna
Frankfort
Cologne
Paris
London
Edinburgh
Dublin
Lisbon
Madrid
Toledo
Valencia
Barcelona
Seville
Granada
Malaga
Gibraltar
Tangier
Melilla
Algiers
Tunis
Rome
Naples
Venice
Milan
Genoa
Florence
Marseilles
Avignon
Montpellier
Toulouse
Bordeaux
Nantes
Brest
Calais
Amsterdam
Brussels
Cologne
Munich
Augsburg
Nuremberg
Strasburg
Basle
Zurich
Geneva
Turin
Ancona
Naples
Messina
Palermo
Malta
Bona
Oran
Algiers
Tunis
Majorca
Minorca
Cagliari
Sardinia
Corsica

lard was ever accused of participation in the uprising, a vigorous campaign, led by the zealous Courtenay, archbishop of Canterbury, successor of the murdered Sudbury, was begun. On May 19, 1382, a council was held at Blackfriars, and Wiclif's doctrines were condemned. In the same month parliament authorized the royal officers and sheriffs to aid the ecclesiastical authorities. During the following year Oxford, where centred the intellectual life of England, was compelled to recant and to banish Wiclif's followers from its walls. In Leicestershire, in London, and in the west of England, where the Lollards were most numerous, every effort was made to crush the heresy.[1]

The first generation of Lollards was unable to withstand these attacks of the church. As has been well said, "They were not ready to be martyrs." All who were brought to trial at this time recanted and returned to the fold; but thousands, taught by the poor preachers, continued to receive the doctrines presented to them and to believe in secret or without outward display.[2] Wiclif died in 1384; but his death was only an incident in the movement. The revolt from the doctrines of the mediæval church had begun; and in the next century, men of the second generation were willing to be burned at the stake for their faith. Furthermore, Wiclif's teaching was carried back to Bohemia by the students and others who had come to England in the train of Anne of Bohemia, Richard's first wife (1382), and had studied at Oxford. In Bohemia the new ideas bore fruit in the movement under John Hus, who was, on the Continent, as was Wiclif in England, the great forerunner of Luther and the Protestant Reformation. The revolt of the Lollards made easier the religious reformation of the sixteenth century in England.

[1] Gee and Hardy, Nos. XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 5 (Cheyney), pp. 13–14; Adams and Stephens, No. 90; Lee, No. 98; Kendall, No. 35.

[2] Cheyney, "Recantations of the Early Lollards," *American Historical Review*, April, 1899, pp. 423–438.

139. Period I. Richard's Misrule: Resistance of Parliament. — Politically Richard's reign was a time of party struggle for the control of the government. The factions were led by the great earls, the possessors of the widest lands in England, the majority of whom were of the royal house by descent or marriage. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, Edmund, Duke of York, and Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, were the chief of these men. In 1377 parliament had appointed a regency, from which the king's uncles had been excluded, but which was in the main controlled by John of Gaunt. The power of these nobles began, however, to decline after the peasants' revolt, and in 1382–1383 the king, though still a minor, disregarded the regency, and gathered about him a body of new advisers, among whom were Michael de la Pole, Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford, Chief Justice Tressilian, and Nicolas Brembre, chief of the grocers' gild in London. Michael de la Pole, who became chancellor in 1383, was the first merchant to attain high office in England.[1] With these men as



RICHARD II.

From Vertue's engraving based on "an ancient original in the Quire, Westminster Abbey," that is, on the gilt-lacquer effigy of the king there.

[1] Bourne. *English Merchants.*

councillors, Richard entered upon a career of tyranny and extravagance.

John of Gaunt attempted to check the course of his nephew, but his influence was fast declining, and in 1385 he withdrew to conduct a war in Spain. In parliament alone lay the hope of resistance to the king. That body was now meeting more or less regularly every year. Though it had usually sat but a month or two at a time, it had had ample opportunity to protest against the bad government and heavy taxes. Its protests had been embodied in the form of petitions, which the king was free to consider or not just as he pleased, and to which he generally paid little attention. In 1382 parliament impeached the fighting bishop, Spencer of Norwich, who had inaugurated a futile crusade in Flanders. In 1386, in an angry mood, it demanded by petition a view of the king's accounts, some knowledge of the king's appointments, and the dismissal of De la Pole. To this demand Richard replied in anger that he would not remove a scullion from his kitchen. But he was forced to yield and to suffer De la Pole to be impeached.[1]

Finally, in 1388, guided by Thomas, Earl of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel, Nottingham, Warwick, and Derby (Henry Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt), — called the Five Lords Appellant, — parliament accused five of the king's associates, found them guilty of treason, and put to death Tressilian, Brembre, and three others.[2] This act of vindictive cruelty, for which the parliament has received the name "Merciless," was the work, not so much of the knights and burgesses, as of the nobles who wished to use parliament as an instrument wherewith to rid themselves of their enemies. They were able to manage parliament, because the election of the members of the House of Commons was controlled largely by the great landowners. The frequency of packed parlia-

[1] Frazer, Part II, No. 49; Adams and Stephens, No. 93.
[2] Frazer, Part II, No. 51.

ments and the ready subservience of many knights and burgesses will be better understood when it is remembered that attendance in parliament was a heavy burden that few were able to carry.

140. Period II. Coöperation of Richard in Good Government. — A period of true parliamentary growth and government began with Richard's personal rule in 1389. The cliques of the nobles were broken up. The king, with a moderation which has puzzled students of his character, forsook favorites and extravagance, and ruled constitutionally through his ministers and with the advice of parliament. It is possible that Richard was playing a shrewd game, intending to lull into a feeling of security the leaders of the parliaments of 1386 and 1387, in order to strike them down later with greater certainty of success. However this may be, for eight years he governed as a constitutional king. Finances were ably managed, taxation was light and fairly proportioned, and important measures were passed, touching commerce, the church, and the nobles.

In developing his *commercial policy* Richard was at first inclined to encourage aliens to trade in England, as Edward III had done. But the towns, particularly London, had protested against the privileges granted to aliens, inasmuch as the weaving industry was making progress in England, and English artisans were already working up wool into cloths at home. Therefore, in 1392, parliament passed a law, providing that no "merchant stranger alien should buy or sell to another alien, nor sell to retail" within the kingdom. This reversed the policy of Edward III (p. 166), and proved a great discouragement to the alien trade. On the other hand, it stimulated native English industry, and made possible the control of the internal and retail trade of England by Englishmen.

No less important were the statutes dealing with the *church*. Already had parliament declared that the pope should not control benefices nor aliens hold benefices in England, and that no Englishman should appeal from the king's courts to the pope. But so persistent had been the efforts of the clergy to evade

these statutes (of provisors and præmunire) and so willing had the king been to neglect them, that up to this time they had never been really enforced. In 1390 a second Statute of Provisors was passed,[1] which not only prohibited any one from accepting a benefice at the hands of the pope, but also declared that the pope could have no control over any appointment to benefices whatever. In 1393 a second Statute of Præmunire[2] declared that the pope could not annul any judgment of the king's court, hear any appeals from England, excommunicate bishops or "any other of the king's liege people," or send "sentences of excommunication, bulls, instruments or anything else whatsoever which touched the king, against him, his crown, and his regality."

In the third place, parliament sought to abolish a practice which had become widespread among the nobility, and was at the same time so deep-rooted, that, as events were to show, it could not be eradicated by legislation. This practice was the *maintenance*, by the great lords, *of bodies of retainers*, often sufficient in number to form almost a petty army. The practice had become common after 1290, when the statute *Quia Emptores* forbade subinfeudation. To supply the place of the sub-tenants, who by their tenure had been obliged to do military services for their lords, the dukes and earls had gathered about them men whom they hired to fight their battles. These men wore the lord's livery, and were fed at his expense; at this time and in the next century their brawls were frequent sources of trouble. Attempts had been made to prevent this practice, by Edward III, by the Good Parliament, and now by the parliament of Richard II in 1390,[3] but ineffectively, and the evil was to be swept away only during the wars of the next century.

[1] Gee and Hardy, No. XXXIX.

[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 98; Gee and Hardy, No. XL; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 5 (Cheyney), pp. 6–9.

[3] Adams and Stephens, No. 96. Another attempt was made by Henry IV, in 1399.

141. Period III. Deposition of Richard II.—From 1389 to 1397 Richard ruled with moderation and prudence, avoiding extravagance and war, and aiding in the passage of laws useful to the nation at large. In 1394 Anne of Bohemia died. Two years afterward Richard, having entered into a truce with France, solemnized the occasion by marrying a mere child, the daughter of the French king. From that time his character changed. Believing in the existence of a plot of the nobility and remembering the indignities heaped upon him in 1386 and 1387, he began to take vengeance on his enemies. The parliament of 1397 was elected under the direct influence of the king and cannot be deemed an independent body. Through its aid the earl of Arundel was impeached and executed; the duke of Gloucester, exiled to Calais, died there, murdered, as has been proved without question,[1] by command of Richard; Warwick was exiled to the Isle of Man; and others were accused and outlawed.[2] The parliament of the next year (1398)[3] was equally a packed body, and its chief act was to grant the king a duty on wool and hides for life. When this had been done, the king became independent of parliament and practically absolute.[4]

This policy aroused the opposition of a party that found a leader in Henry Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, one of the late Lords Appellant. At first Bolingbroke had found favor with Richard, his cousin, who had made him duke of Hereford. But in 1398 he had been banished by the king without apparent cause.[5] This act, coupled with Richard's seizure of the lands of John of Gaunt, after the latter's death in 1399, turned Bolingbroke, now duke of Lancaster, against the king. When, therefore, in 1399, Richard unwisely left England to drive back the Celts, who were encroaching on the English settle-

[1] By Tait, in *The Owens College Historical Essays*, pp. 139–216.

[2] Frazer, Part II, No. 57.

[3] Parliament of Shrewsbury, Frazer, Part II, No. 58; Adams and Stephens, Nos. 100, 101.

[4] Frazer, Part II, No. 62.

[5] Frazer, Part II, Nos. 60, 61, 63.

ments in Ireland, Henry landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire and quickly gathered the malcontents about him.[1] Richard, returning from Ireland, was captured at Conway Castle, in Wales, and realizing that the lords and the nation were against him, abdicated his throne. In his act of resignation Richard gave up all his prerogatives. In the presence of parliament the act of deposition was read, and twenty-three reasons were given why the throne should be declared vacant.[2] This done, Henry of Lancaster claimed the crown in a speech delivered in English, and parliament recognized the claim.[3] In so doing it passed by the earl of March, the man with the better hereditary right, and gave the title to the stronger claimant. Henry of Lancaster became Henry IV. This victory of parliament was really a victory for the nobility. The nation had little to say in the matter.

142. Character of Richard's Reign. — The end of the century brings us to a significant turning-point in the development of England. The most powerful men in the country were the great lords possessing retinues, fortified castles, family traditions and names, controlling government and warring with each other, a reconstructed and artificial feudal class. But more important for the future of England were the towns, already entering upon a new commercial and artisan life, the freeholders, already the yeomanry of England, and the villeins, well advanced in their progress toward freedom. Of all these classes the reign of Richard gives us a glimpse, showing them in a state of transformation. The factional quarrels of the nobility foreshadowed the death grapple of the Wars of the Roses; the growth of the towns made possible a native English commerce in the hands of the Merchant Adventurers; the rise of the yeomanry and the release of the villeins from bondage looked forward to a new agriculture and a new system of labor, and gave to the nation a new social

[1] Frazer, Part II, No. 64.

[2] Frazer, Part II, No. 65, 66; Adams and Stephen, No. 102.

[3] Durham, No. 2; Frazer, II, No. 67; Adams and Stephens, No. 103.

class, no longer bound to the soil and unprotected by the courts. The reign of Richard shows that England was in the midst of a silent revolution.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER VIII. — The period of English history treated in this chapter differs from those that have preceded in that it has less to do with constitutional questions than with social crises and changes. The result is inevitably a greater variety of interest and greater complexity in the subject-matter.

The most accessible account of the reign of Edward III is that of Warburton, *Edward the Third* (1887), in the Epochs of Modern History Series. Less satisfactory though more recent, and in many particulars more accurate, is Mackinnon's *Edward III* (1900). Longman's *Life and Times of Edward III* (1869), in two volumes, is useful and interesting, and contains a great deal of valuable information. Freeman has a readable sketch of the period in *Historical Essays*, first series, "The Reign of King Edward III." All of these writers deal chiefly with the political, diplomatic, and military history, and devote relatively little space to the popular unrest. For this reason they do not give well-balanced accounts, and should be supplemented by Chap. VI in *Social England*, Vol. II, or by other works that treat of industry, commerce, and agriculture. A first view of these subjects may be obtained from Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History of England*, Chaps. III, IV, V, and Warner's *Landmarks*, Chaps. II, III, V, VI. Fuller accounts are in Gross's *Gild Merchant*, Vol. I; Ashley's *Economic History*, Part II; Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, Vol. I. An invaluable description of the manorial life is in Vinogradoff's *Villainage in England* (1892), Essay II. This should be supplemented by Seebohm's *The English Village Community* (1883), pp. 1–81, and Nasse's *The Agricultural Land Community of the Middle Ages* (1871). For vivid pictures of the life of the common people, the writings of Jessopp, *Coming of the Friars* (1890), Essays I, IV, V, and *Studies of a Recluse* (1893), Essay V, and the works of Jusserand, *Piers Ploughman*, *A Contribution to the History of English Mysticism* (1893), and *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages* (1892), are indispensable. On a subject of increasing importance during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Ribton-Turner's *Vagrants and Vagrancy* (1887). The best accounts of the Black Death are those of Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence* (1893), and Creighton, *History of Epidemics in Britain* (1891–1894). Excellent extracts on this and kindred topics are in Ashley's *Edward III and his Wars* (English History from Contemporary Sources).

For the years after 1368, the work of Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe* (1900), is scholarly, full, and very well written; it deals chiefly with the political intrigues, the church, and the peasants' revolt. Powell's *The Peasant Rising in East Anglia* (1899) and Kriehn's "Studies in the Sources of the Social Revolt in 1381" (*American Historical Review*, Vol. VII, Nos. 2, 3) supplement and correct Trevelyan's account. The best life of Wiclif is that of Lechler (1878); but Sergeant's *Wiclif* (Heroes of Nation Series) is good, and Poole's *Wycliffe and the Movements for Reform* (Epochs of Church History Series) is useful. An essay on Wiclif may be found in Creighton's *Historical Essays and Reviews* (1902). For all that relates to the plague, Wiclif, and the Lollards, the volume in *A History of the English Church* (Vol. III, by Capes, 1900) is invaluable (Chaps. IV–VII). A brief but admirable account of the Lollards is in Gairdner and Spedding's *Studies in English History* (1881), pp. 1–54. For the constitutional history of the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, Stubbs's *Constitutional History*, Vol. II, Chaps. XVI, XVII, will long remain unsurpassed. Pike's *Constitutional History of the House of Lords* (1894) is a very important and valuable work.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LANCASTRIAN KINGS AND THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

143. The Position and Character of Henry IV. — Henry of Lancaster claimed the throne by virtue of his descent from Henry III, and because, as he said, "the realm was in point to be undone for default of governance and undoing of good laws." Parliament, in accepting him as king, was undoubtedly influenced by this hereditary claim, though in reality there was little in it, but it was moved much more by the desire to have a king dependent on itself for his authority. Henry was the first parliamentary king in English history; but he represented rather the conservative and aristocratic portion of parliament, the lords, lay and spiritual, than the knights and burgesses, the party of the future. It is not strange, therefore, that he should have been himself conservative, even reactionary. He was, in fact, mediæval in policy, an upholder of the temporal power of the church, hostile to the Lollards, and opposed to those movements that during Richard's reign had striven to free the people from the authority of the church on one side, and of the manorial lords on the other. Though his election gave a great opportunity to parliament to extend its authority and influence, yet it was not destined to aid even in the least degree the emancipation of the peasant or the Lollard. Progress in this particular was almost imperceptible; neither king nor parliament did anything to hasten it.

144. Attempts to dethrone Henry IV. — The choice of parliament did not by any means find unanimous support in England, and during Henry's early years as king, attempts were

made to unseat him. At the beginning of his reign a conspiracy was formed by Richard's half-brothers, the earls of Kent and Huntingdon, but the plot was discovered and the earls were executed.[1] After Richard's death, at Pontefract, in January, 1400, his adherents turned to the earl of March, whom Richard had designated as his successor, and a revolt began in the north, where the Percys, of whom the earl of Northumberland was the head, ruled as practically independent feudal lords. Though they had aided Henry in his struggle for the throne, they now turned against him, on the pretext of an insult to Edmund Mortimer, their kinsman; and while Henry was in Wales, fighting Owen Glendower,[2] whose people, the Welsh, had always been devoted to Richard, they plotted against him. Acting in conjunction with the Welsh, the Percys advanced southward, but were defeated at Shrewsbury on the Welsh border (1403). There Henry



HENRY IV.
From Vertue's engraving, based on a picture at Hampton Court.

[1] Durham, Nos. 4, 5.

[2] On the Welsh peasant revolt under Glendower, see Edwards, *Wales*, Chap. XVI; Bradley, *Owen Glyndwr and the Last Struggle for Welsh Independence* (1902); Durham, No. 8.

Percy (Hotspur) was killed.[1] Glendower warred on, fighting in a hopeless cause, till his death in 1415; while the father of Hotspur, who had submitted in 1403, again conspired, with Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, and Scrope, Archbishop of York.[2] The conspiracy was betrayed, and Mowbray and Scrope were beheaded. Northumberland was slain at Bramham Moor in 1407.

Toward the end of his reign the position of Henry became more secure. He was fortunate in capturing Prince James, son of Robert III of Scotland, when the prince was on his way to France to be educated. By retaining his captive in England for eighteen years as a hostage (1406–1424), he was able to ward off all trouble from Scotland during that time. Danger from France was removed by the civil war in that country between the Orleanists and the Burgundians,[3] a war similar in character to that which soon broke out between the Houses of Lancaster and York in England.

145. The Church under Henry IV: The Lollards.—Henry was supported in the main by the higher clergy, whose interests he had promised to respect; though some of them, like Archbishop Scrope of York, were bitterly opposed to him. The lower clergy were generally hostile; the friars hated the "usurper" and preached disloyalty to the masses; the monks, widely disaffected, aided in hatching plots and creating turbulence among the peasantry. The age was one of great doubt and uncertainty as to what to do and think. Men did not know where to look for authority, either in church or state. The Council of Pisa, called in 1409 to bring to an end the Great Schism, made the situation worse by choosing a third pope, so that from the Council of Pisa to that of Constance there were three popes, each claiming to be the head of the church.[4] This

[1] Durham, Nos. 9–11. [2] Durham, No. 13.

[3] For a brief account of the situation in France, see Adams's *Growth of the French Monarchy*, pp. 125–127.

[4] The best accounts of the great councils of Pisa and Constance may be found in Pastor, *History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, Vol. I,

grievous division of Christendom into three parts created great confusion in men's minds, and increased the numbers of those who were following the heretical teachings of Wiclif.

King and archbishop were at one in their opinion of the heretics. Henry upheld the church in its persecution of the Lollards, and aided the bishops to suppress them by force. The Parliament of 1401, at the special request of Arundel, the persecuting archbishop of Canterbury, passed a statute authorizing the burning of heretics, the Statute *De Hæretico Comburendo*, which was the first law passed in England for the suppression of religious opinions.[1] According to this statute, the sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs were to carry out the sentence of the ecclesiastical court in the case of a person refusing to abjure, or who, having once abjured, had relapsed. They were to cause such persons to be burnt "in a high place that such punishment might strike fear into the minds of others." Even while this bill was before parliament, William Sawtre, vicar at Lynn, was burnt alive by command of the king.[2] An Evesham tailor, Badby, was burnt in 1410, after a formidable trial before a convocation at London, where he had been condemned for asserting that "Christ sitting at supper could not give his disciples his living body to eat." Prince Henry (afterward Henry V) personally sought to persuade Badby to recant, but without success. Others, like William Thorpe, were imprisoned, though not burnt. During the reign of Henry IV there is nothing to show that the Lollards ever engaged in any conspiracy or plot. Doubtless many of them desired not only to reform the doctrines of the church, but also to deprive the

and Creighton, *History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome* (1882–1894), Vol. I. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry IV* (1884–1898), is full of useful matter relating to the Great Schism. The same author's lectures on the *Council of Constance* (1901) are models of their kind.

[1] Lee, No. 99; Gee and Hardy, No. XLII; Adams and Stephens, No. 106; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 5 (Cheyney), p. 14; Durham, No. 6.

[2] Gee and Hardy, No. XLIII; Durham, No. 7.

clergy of their great endowments,[1] and so to reorganize the church along purely spiritual lines, free from the sordid motives of honor and wealth that had influenced it hitherto. In the next reign, the Lollards became offenders not only against the church, but against the state also.

146. Henry V. — Henry IV died in 1413, leaving the crown, without opposition, to the Prince of Wales, who ascended the throne on May 20 as Henry V. The traditions that Prince Hal's early years were a time of rioting and dissipation are mainly the exaggerations of later writers, for the prince as king showed a sobriety and dignity of demeanor wholly at variance with the account that Shakespeare has given of him and Falstaff. He had already directed affairs during the illness of his father, and had shown his military ability in the many battles that his father had been called upon to fight. He was possessed of nobility of character, considerable learning, and gracious manners. His life was a brilliant one, but his aims were injurious to England, and his statesmanship was of a distinctly inferior type. He was a warrior, but he was also a mystic, and his eyes were turned to the past rather than to the future; he was a believer in religious persecution, and deemed the continuance of the war with France an obligation as holy as was the maintenance of the faith of the church.

147. Further Persecution of the Lollards: Oldcastle. — Under Richard II the Lollards had generally recanted; under Henry IV they had become martyrs for their faith; under Henry V they were not only heretics, but revolutionists also. The chief Lollard of the time was a knight of Herefordshire, Sir John Oldcastle, a soldier and a scholar, "who had openly encouraged the sectarian preachers on his estate and in his castle."[2] Summoned to appear and answer for his heresy before the bishops,

[1] See Oldcastle's bill of 1410, showing what could be done with the possessions of the church if they should be distributed for the good of the kingdom. Johnston's *English Historical Reprints*, Part I, p. 29.

[2] Capes, pp. 185–188; Durham, No. 39.

he at first refused to obey. But at the king's command he came, and was condemned as a heretic and handed over to the secular power "to do him thereupon to death" (1413). Oldcastle escaped, and for four years became the supposed leader of a Lollard conspiracy against the king. He was charged with aiding the Welsh and negotiating with the Scots. His followers were accused of sedition and conspiracy. A new statute was passed against them; sheriffs and justices were ordered to arrest them and bring them to justice.[1] Finally, in 1418, Oldcastle was captured, hanged as a traitor, and afterward his body was burned because he had been a heretic. From this time forward Lollardry became a faith for the poorer classes. Those who were burnt were generally parish priests or lowly persons.[2] Men like Bishop Pecock, of higher rank, recanted. During the Wars of the Roses there is little evidence of activity among the Lollards.

148. The Increasing Power of Parliament. — Although the Lancastrian kings, with the coöperation of the church, were able to persecute the heretics, they could not prevent parliament from steadily increasing its claims and functions. The conspiracies at home, the national movement in Wales, the revolt of the Percys, and the trouble with England and Scotland made Henry IV's reign a burdensome and expensive one. Dependent, as he was, upon parliament for his title, he became increasingly dependent on it because of his constant need of money. Parliament named the king's council, audited the king's accounts, and not only controlled taxation as they had done for a century, but made good their demand that redress of grievances should precede a grant of supplies.[3] They asked that their parliamentary privileges be fully recognized by the king;[4] that they should not be held responsible for what they said in parliament;[5] that they and their servants be free from

[1] Lee, Nos. 100–102.
[2] Lee, No. 103.
[3] Compare the subsidy grants, given in Adams and Stephens, Nos. 114, 118.
[4] Adams and Stephens, No. 107.
[5] Adams and Stephens, Nos. 105, 108.

arrest during the session of the court;[1] and that their petitions be speedily answered by the king.[2] A great constitutional advantage was obtained in 1407, when Henry IV agreed that money bills should originate in the House of Commons;[3] and another, in 1414, when Henry V promised not to alter a petition or bill without referring the alteration back to the petitioners.[4] During this period the first attempts were made to define the voting privilege. Complaints had been made as early as 1406 of abuses by the sheriff in the matter of electing knights of the shire, and attempts had been made at that time to regulate the method of election.[5] In 1413 knights were required to be "resident within the shire where they shall be chosen,"[6] and in 1429 the right to vote was limited to those freeholders who possessed a "free tenement of the value of forty shillings a year at least."[7] All sorts of people seem to have got into the habit of attending the court and taking part in the election. To prevent this the law of 1429 was passed. It is not likely that this law altered seriously the character of parliament, though it must have reduced the number of freeholders voting in the shire court. The agricultural population — making up about nine-tenths of the people of the kingdom — never had had a share in the election of the knights of the shire.

149. Continuation of the Hundred Years' War: Henry's Victories.[8] — England and France had been at war almost incessantly since 1337. The treaty of Bretigny, and the truces agreed to after 1360, had not brought about a permanent

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 122, "Except for Treason, Felony, and Surety of the Peace"; cf. No. 127. [2] Adams and Stephens, No. 109.

[3] Adams and Stephens, No. 112; Durham, No. 20.

[4] Adams and Stephens, No. 117; Durham, No. 40.

[5] Adams and Stephens, Nos. 111, 113.

[6] Adams and Stephens, No. 115; cf. 125.

[7] Adams and Stephens, No. 121; 40 *sh.* = about $150 to $200 of present money, a very considerable sum. This act, therefore, restricted the voting privilege to the "most worthy knights and esquires" of the county. Durham, No. 68. [8] Durham, Nos. 22–38.

peace. That which Edward III, the Black Prince, and John of Gaunt had done, Henry V was to continue, and his military deeds were to rival Crécy and Poitiers. In 1414 he revived the English claims to the lost provinces in the south of France, and in 1415 demanded the crown of France itself. Both demands were, of course, rejected, and in 1415, Henry, with six thousand archers and two thousand men-at-arms, landed on the coast of Normandy. He captured Harfleur, and then, though his force was depleted by pestilence, resolved to march to Calais, through the enemy's country. At Agincourt he was confronted by the French army, four times as large as his own, led by the constable of France, John d'Albret. Through incredible blunders on the part of the French, Henry was able to win a famous victory, which increased immeasurably the prestige of the English archer and decreased the value of the heavily armed feudal knight. Henry returned to England in triumph, and was received by the people with demonstrations of joy. The battle of Agincourt (October 25, 1415)[1] repaid England for the losses she had suffered since Bretigny, and increased the war fever at home.

In August, 1417, Henry invaded France for the second time, and during the year and a half that followed became the master of all Normandy. Such unprecedented victory was possible only because of the suicidal wars between the parties in France, with the duke of Burgundy on one side, and on the other the Dauphin (later, Charles VII), the head of the Armagnac faction. After long negotiation, a treaty was concluded at Troyes, May 14, 1420, between Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and the English king, according to which Henry was recognized as the heir of France, and the daughter of the king of France was given to him in marriage.

But the Dauphin, refusing thus to be deprived of his inheritance, defeated the English, under the duke of Clarence, the king's brother, in the battle of Baugé, March 22, 1421. For a

[1] Durham, No. 27.

third time Henry returned to France, where he succumbed to a greater conqueror than the Dauphin. On August 31, 1422, Henry died at Vincennes. Parliament appointed Bedford, his brother, protector of the realm during the minority of Henry VI, with Gloucester, another brother, regent in England during Bedford's absence in France.[1]

150. Close of the Hundred Years' War: Loss of France.—Henry had had a definite purpose in his war with France. He had not only proposed to continue the policy of his predecessors, and to strengthen his throne by winning military glory, but he wished also to make Normandy a second England; to purify the government there, to improve the condition of the people, and to encourage manufactures. In so doing he had a double object: to control the English Channel, and to obtain a voice in European affairs.

But this plan entirely failed. The immediate effect of Henry's successes was to arouse a spirit of patriotism in France that was to end in the complete defeat of the English. France, since the days of the great kings, Philip II and Philip IV, had passed through a long period of feudal reaction, when the monarchy was in a life and death grapple with the great territorial lords. But now, at the end of the struggle, she was ready to enter upon a new period of her career. From the Hundred Years' War she was to emerge a powerful kingdom, destined in half a century to win for herself lasting victory and a leading position among European states.

When, by a curious coincidence, Charles of France died in the same year with Henry of England, the young Henry VI, according to the terms of the treaty of Troyes, became king of France, with the duke of Bedford acting as regent. His title was acknowledged in northern France, and for the first six years Bedford succeeded in maintaining and continuing the conquests.[2] Maine was reduced and the Loire region occupied. In 1428 the English laid siege to Orleans. The fortunes of

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 119. [2] Durham, Nos. 41–44.

the Dauphin, Charles VII, who had refused to acknowledge Henry's claim, never seemed at a lower ebb than in 1428, when there took place one of the most extraordinary occurrences in history. Joan of Arc, a village maid of Domremy, in Champagne, presented herself before Charles at Chinon, and declared that she had been divinely sent to rescue France. Accepted by the king as a last hope, she succeeded in raising the siege of Orleans and in turning the tide of English success. At Jargeau, the earl of Suffolk was captured, and Lord Talbot was defeated at Patty. On July 17, 1429, Charles VII was crowned at Rheims.[1]

The appearance of the Maid of Orleans roused in an extraordinary way the patriotism of the French. Little by little the English were driven back, until scarcely more than Normandy, Picardy, and Maine were left in their hands. Before Compiegne, the Maid, unhorsed in a sudden onset, was captured by Philip of Burgundy, who, as the signer of the treaty of Troyes, supported the cause of Henry VI. Philip sold her for ten thousand crowns to the English. After imprisonment and an unworthy trial, she was burned as a witch at Rouen (1431). The shame of this deed belongs to the duke of Bedford and to the heartless Charles VII, who raised not a finger to save the heroine who had made him king of France.[2]

For twenty years the English king struggled to retain his hold upon his remaining French possessions. The death of Bedford in 1435, and the defection of Philip of Burgundy the same year, rendered his cause hopeless. In 1436 Paris fell into the hands of the French; in 1449, at the battle of Formigny, the English forces suffered a crushing defeat; Normandy was lost forever, and by 1450 all that Henry V had gained by his brilliant career of conquest was gone without hope of recovery. In 1451 Guienne surrendered, and in 1453 Bordeaux, the last

[1] Durham, Nos. 45–47.

[2] Colby, No. 45; Durham, No. 48; T. D. Murray, *Jeanne d'Arc* (1902), an excellent and interesting work containing many original documents.

stronghold in the south, was starved out.[1] Calais and the Channel Islands alone remained to remind England of the former greatness of her kings as feudal lords in France. But the losses of England meant the independence of France. With the close of the Hundred Years' War begins the national unity and European importance of that kingdom.

151. Factional Struggles in England.—Just as France had been afflicted for half a century by the selfish ambitions of the Burgundians and Armagnacs during the insanity of Charles VI, so England was to pass through a similar experience during the minority and weak rule of Henry VI.

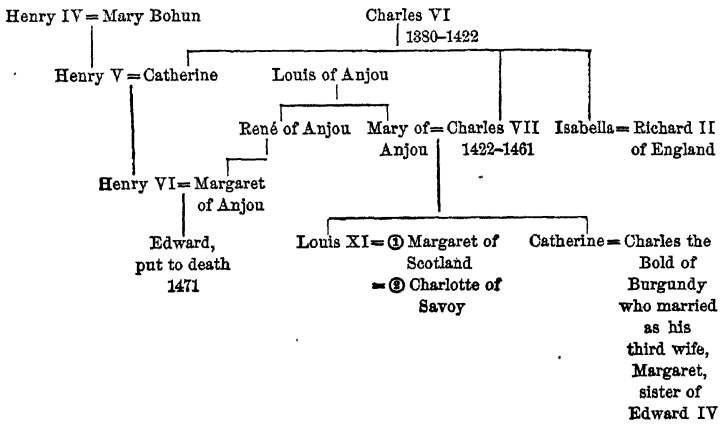
In the years after the death of Henry V the political history of England is barren of significance. All eyes were directed toward the war in France. At home a struggle to control the king was taking place between Henry V's brother, the duke of Gloucester, whom parliament had made protector,[2] and his uncle, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and afterward cardinal. The former fell into disgrace, owing to the charges of witchcraft brought against his second wife, Eleanor Cobham; and in 1442 Henry VI took the reins of government into his own hands. He had his favorite, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, who negotiated his marriage with Margaret of Anjou in 1445.[3] After the death of Gloucester in 1447, and of Beaufort in the same year, Suffolk became master of the situation. His chief rival was Richard, Duke of York, nephew of that earl of March whom Henry IV had kept from the throne in 1399, and grandson of Edmund, fourth son of Edward III. Suffolk was charged with the failure of the war in France, and was impeached for treason by the House of Commons.[4] Pardoned by the king, he attempted to escape from England. But he was intercepted and beheaded off Dover by the sailors of William Canynges of Bristol, one of the Merchant Adventurers, who, as a class, resented the escape

[1] Durham, Nos. 56-58.
[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 120; see Durham, Nos. 60, 61.
[3] Durham, No. 54. [4] Durham, No. 72.

of a man who had done much to injure their trade and commerce. His place in the king's favor was taken by the Lancastrian Edmund, Duke of Somerset, nephew of Cardinal Beaufort and grandson of John of Gaunt.

152. **Protest against Misrule and Extravagance: Cade's Rebellion.** — Events of the year 1450 give us an insight into the popular discontent aroused by this selfish strife for power and booty, and the powerlessness of the king and parliament. That the classes below the nobles looked with increasing ill-will upon these feuds, with their resulting extravagance, misgovernment, extortion, and moral degeneration among all the officials of the realm, is evident from what is known as Cade's rebellion. This movement was participated in by men of gentle rank as well as yeomen, by merchants, craftsmen, boatmen, and laborers, a few of the clergy, and local officials. Though finding its chief centre in Kent, Sussex, and Essex, it spread into Hants, Dorset, and Wilts, where local grievances were at the bottom of the movement. In general, the uprising was purely political in character, and was in the interest of those

THE LANCASTRIANS AND FRENCH CONNECTIONS.



who were opposed to the existing government, notably in the interest of the duke of York, who from selfish or other motives had at this time come forward as the representative of the popular cause. More particularly it was a protest against the squandering of the king's revenues, and the heavy taxes, due to the wars, against the oppression by the sheriffs, the corruption of officials, the appointment of debased judges, the interference of the nobility in the elections,[1] and the loss of France, which ruined the maritime trade and diminished the export of wool and cloths into Flanders. Kent protested most strongly, because there industry and trade had made exceptional progress.

Under a captain of Kent, who called himself Mortimer, cousin of the duke of York, but who is better known as Jack Cade, the men of Kent rose in military fashion, as if duly summoned by the constables. They advanced to Blackheath and presented their grievances to the king. On June 18 a battle was fought at Sevenoaks, where the king's troops were defeated. Henry yielded to the rebels and dismissed certain obnoxious officials, Say, the chief treasurer, and Crowmer, sheriff of Kent. During the first week of July the rebels occupied London, and unwilling to await the course of royal justice, beheaded both Say and Crowmer. Eventually, however, they were got out of the city, and receiving letters of pardon from the king dispersed to their homes. Cade was afterward captured in Sussex and executed.[2]

153. The Wars of the Roses:[3] I (to 1460). Struggle of Parties to control the King. — The uprising of Cade was clearly a protest against the Lancastrian government, and in the interest of that party which was opposed to the ministers about Henry VI. Of this party the head was Richard, Duke of York, who in 1424, after the death of his uncle, the earl of March, be-

[1] Kendall, No. 38; Durham, No. 59; also Nos. 74–76, Part II, No. 3.

[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 126.

[3] The badge of the House of Lancaster was the red rose, that of the House of York the white rose; hence the name, "Wars of the Roses."

came the heir to the throne. It has been sometimes thought that he was directly or indirectly influential in Jack Cade's rebellion. However this may be, he returned in 1450 from Ireland, where he had been sent as the king's lieutenant, and marched on to London, where he offered himself as the adviser of the king, presenting a petition for the better organization of the government.[1] For the moment Henry accepted his support and advice; but on the return of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, whom Henry had made regent of Normandy, and who was cordially hated by the people, the king turned to the older favorite, and restored him to power in the council. From 1450 to 1453 the rivalry between York and Somerset continued,[2] until a series of events occurred which turned the balance in favor of York. On July 3, 1453, Guienne, the last territory in France, was lost, and in consequence Somerset was disgraced and imprisoned. Henry VI became insane, and a regency was necessary. And lastly, Queen Margaret gave birth to a son, an event which destroyed York's claim to the throne, but made it easier for the advisers of the king to accept York's leadership. In 1454 the duke was proclaimed by parliament the Protector of the Kingdom.[3]

Unfortunately the king recovered,[4] and Margaret of Anjou, self-willed and headstrong, determined to drive out the man who was threatening to dominate at court where she had ruled for years. York was dismissed, Somerset was released, and once more the Lancastrians were in full control. Then it was that York determined to gain power by force. Withdrawing to the north, he gathered to himself the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, and attacked the forces of the king and Somerset at St. Albans, May 22, 1455.[5] The Yorkists were successful and Somerset was slain.

Declaring that his acts were directed against the bad ad-

[1] Colby, No. 46.
[2] Kendall, No. 39; Durham, Part II, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6.
[3] Durham, Part II, No. 9.
[4] Durham, Part II, No. 10.
[5] Durham, Part II, No. 11.

visers of the king, the duke of York was pardoned by Henry, and when, later in the year, the king again became insane, was for the second time declared Protector by parliament. Again the king recovered his health in 1456, again was York dismissed. But this time, as the king took the government into his own hands, and as Margaret of Anjou suffered her husband to rule alone, there was no pretext available for a Yorkist movement. For two years the king governed, and each year the condition of the kingdom became worse. Attacks were made by the Scots on the north and by the French on the south, oppression prevailed within, and insecurity was felt everywhere. All realized that the conditions were unbearable, and in 1458 an effort at reconciliation between the parties was made.[1] This reconciliation lasted for a year, but as long as Margaret of Anjou had any influence the peace could not be kept. The party lines were too sharply drawn, the hatreds and ambitions too well defined for a permanent agreement to be reached.

Trivial causes were enough to bring matters to a crisis. In 1459 a quarrel between the servants of the king and those of the earl of Warwick brought on civil war. The earl of Salisbury, father of Warwick, won a victory in a skirmish at Bloreheath, September 22, 1459,[2] and immediately the Yorkists gathered their forces, determined to decide the issue by arms. But the king, by appealing to the loyalty of his people, by promising pardons to those who opposed him, and by threats, managed to break up the Yorkist army. The duke, in despair, fled to Ireland, while Warwick and Salisbury, after many vicissitudes, reached Calais. The Yorkist leaders were attainted.[3]

[1] Durham, Part II, No. 13. [2] Durham, Part II, No. 15.

[3] A careful distinction must be made between attainder and impeachment. An act of attainder was simply an act of parliament condemning to death or outlawry an individual, a family, or a number of party leaders without the formality of a trial. It was used either in times of great excitement and factional struggle, when evidence was wanting and haste was necessary; or in the reign of a despotic king like Henry VIII, who desired a speedy way of ridding himself of his enemies. If a person were attainted for a felony, that


SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
Bristol Channel
PRINCIPALITY OF WALES
BISHOPRIC OF DURHAM
EAST MARCHES
WEST MARCHES
TYNDALE
REDESDALE
RICHMONDSHIRE
COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER
COUNTY PALATINE OF CHESTER
Halidon Hill
Scarborough
Wakefield
Lincoln
Newcastle
Blore Heath
Shrewsbury
Warwick
Norwich
Peterborough
Lutterworth
Worcester
Northampton
Mortimers Cross
Edgecot
Tewkesbury
Cambridge
Gloucester
Oxford
St Albans
Barnet
London
Bristol
Bath
Blackheath
Dartford
Sevenoaks
Sandwich
Dover
Bridgewater
Salisbury
Winchester
Southampton
Hastings
Exeter
Dorchester
Weymouth
Plymouth
Dartmouth
ENGLAND and WALES
at the Time of the
War of The Roses.
Lancastrian Estates
York Estates
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80
Longitude West 9° from Greenwich
0° East

154. The Wars of the Roses: II (1460–1461). Attempt of Yorkists to seize the Crown. — Thus far the war had been in the main a struggle of one party of the nobility to improve the government of the kingdom and to remove from the side of the king his bad advisers. From this time, however, it became a deliberate attempt on the part of the Yorkists to seize the crown as their right. The three earls, Warwick, Salisbury, and Rutland, after spending six months in preparation, landed, in June, 1460, on the coast of Kent and were hailed with acclaim by the people.[1] The Yorkists, as had been apparent since the rebellion of Jack Cade, had found their support in the towns and among the yeomanry. London opened its gates to the earls, who now published proclamations, giving as their reasons for their coming the bad administration of the lands, the perversion of justice, the heavy taxation, the squandering of the patrimony of the king, and the extortionate practices of sheriffs and purveyors in the counties and townships.[2] The first battle was fought at Northampton on July 10, 1460, where the Yorkists were victorious. The king was captured, and great numbers of Lancastrian knights and nobles were slain.[3] Immediately a parliament was summoned, which repealed the act of attainder against the Yorkists and passed another against Margaret and the Lancastrian leaders.

The duke of York returned from Ireland, and changing his policy, made an open demand for the crown.[4] This meant the deposition of Henry VI, and to this extreme the lords

is, for any high crime except treason, he alone was affected; if for treason, his family and descendants were liable to suffer "corruption of blood." Medley, *Constitutional History*, pp. 154, 164; Adams and Stephens, pp. 195, 218, 361. The definition of treason, as fixed at this time (1397) by act of parliament, can be found in Adams and Stephens, No. 99. Impeachment was a formal charge preferred by the House of Commons against a minister or other high official for misgovernment or other cause. The person thus indicted was tried by the House of Lords. Adams and Stephens, pp. 132, 148.

[1] Durham, Part II, No. 17.

[2] Cf. Durham, Part II, No. 14.

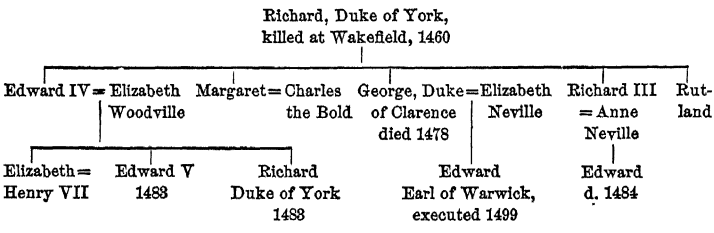
[3] Durham, Part II, No. 18.

[4] Durham, Part II, No. 19.

were unwilling to go. A compromise was reached whereby it was agreed that Henry should retain the crown for life and that Richard of York should be his heir.[1] But Margaret refused to surrender the rights of her son, and gathered about her the nobles of the north, where lay the strength of the Lancastrian party. Supported by the Percys, the Nevilles, and other border barons, she met the Yorkist forces at Wakefield and won a victory in which the duke of York himself was slain (December 30, 1460).[2] The Lancastrians displayed great ferocity, and scores of the Yorkist leaders were killed. Salisbury was captured after the battle and beheaded.

Civil war was now in full swing. The young Edward, Earl of March, now Duke of York, took up his father's cause and defeated the Lancastrians of Wales (Tudors and Pembrokes) at Mortimer's Cross on February 2, 1461; but this victory was offset by that of the northern Lancastrians at St. Albans on the 17th. Each battle was followed by a merciless slaughter of prisoners, and atrocities and reprisals accompanied this duel to the death between the great feudal parties. At London, whither Margaret of Anjou dared not take her northern followers on account of their lawless character, Edward of York was proclaimed king, as Edward IV, by a council of lords and the commons of the city.

THE YORKIST FAMILY.



[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 128; Durham, Part II, No. 20.
[2] Durham, Part II, No. 21.

The object of the war was to maintain the title thus won. Edward and Warwick, gathering their forces, hastened northward, and meeting the Lancastrians at Towton (March 29, 1461), fought a battle of revenge on a bleak hillside during a blinding snowstorm.[1] The Lancastrians were defeated with such a slaughter of the northern nobles as to show the desperate ferocity of the Yorkists. People said that the slain numbered twenty-eight thousand men.

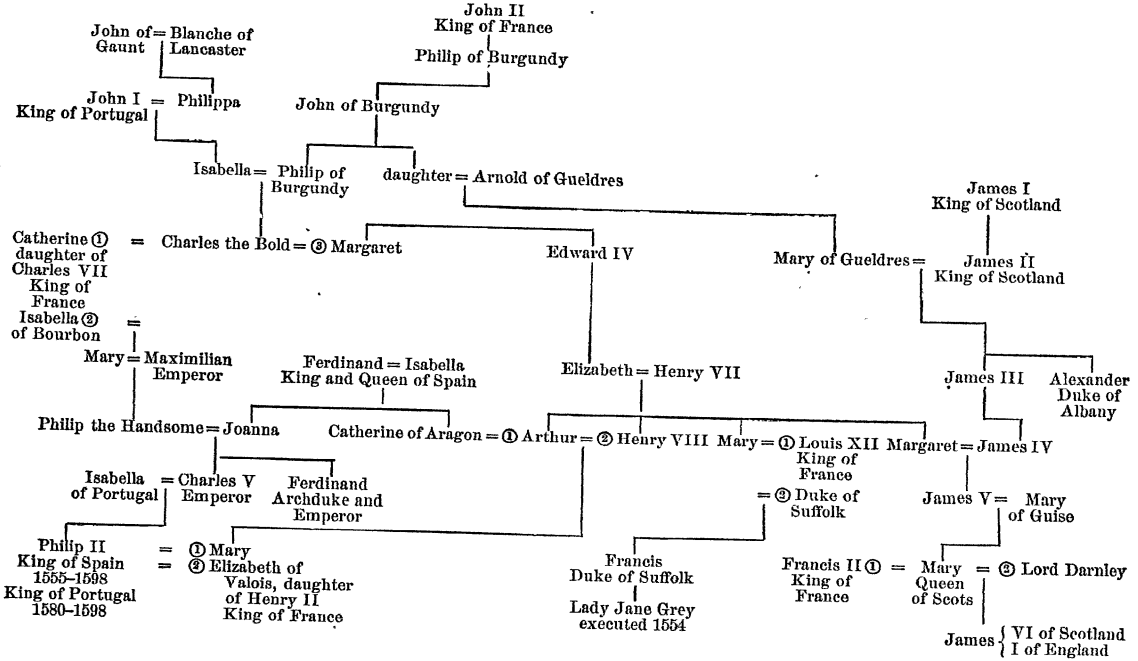
155. The Wars of the Roses: III (1461–1471). Struggle of Edward IV to maintain his Crown. — Edward was crowned at London on June 30, 1461, and his title was confirmed by parliament. The four years from 1461 to 1465 were occupied with successful efforts to complete the victory. Margaret fled to Flanders;[2] the battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham broke the power of the Percys; while Henry, Duke of Somerset, son of Edmund, Duke of Somerset, and one of the last of the house of Beaufort, was captured and beheaded. No mercy was shown on either side.

For four years Edward and Warwick ruled together, — the one as king, the other as the real power at the head of the kingdom. Finally, Edward wearied of Warwick's control, and determined to be king himself, in fact as well as in name. He thwarted Warwick's plans by a romantic marriage with Elizabeth Woodville, the widow of a Lancastrian knight,[3] and began to raise members of her family to important positions at court. He interfered with Warwick's scheme for a peace with Louis XI of France, son of Charles VII, who had aided the Lancastrians. He negotiated a treaty with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, the last great feudal opponent of the French king, and gave to him his sister in marriage.[4] And, lastly, in 1467, he dismissed Warwick from office.

Then Warwick, around whom as the kingmaker and "last

[1] Kendall, No. 40; Durham, Part II, No. 25.
[2] Kendall, No. 41; Durham, Part II, No. 30.
[3] Durham, Part II, No. 31.
[4] Durham, Part II, No. 33.

FAMILY CONNECTIONS IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES: PORTUGAL, SPAIN, BURGUNDY, THE EMPIRE, ENGLAND, FRANCE, SCOTLAND.



of the barons" romance has thrown an undeserved halo,[1] conspired against his king. Allying himself with the duke of Clarence, Edward's younger brother, he became reconciled with Margaret of Anjou, and bound himself to aid in restoring Henry VI.[2] Devoid of principle, loyal only to his own



WARWICK CASTLE.

One of the oldest and most famous of English castles. The portion here represented was used for residence and is not older than the fifteenth century. With the execution of Edward, Earl of Warwick, 1499, the castle reverted to the crown. It was given to John Dudley when he was created earl of Warwick, but after his execution (p. 279) again reverted to the crown.

ambitions, and representative of a degenerate and fast disappearing feudal class, the kingmaker did what many another of the nobility had done at this time — gave his services to the cause which promised the greatest reward.

[1] Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, Vol. I, pp. 257–258. Oman, in *Warwick the Kingmaker*, 1891, is entirely too favorable; Warwick was not a statesman, but the leader of a faction, and he did not rise above his party.

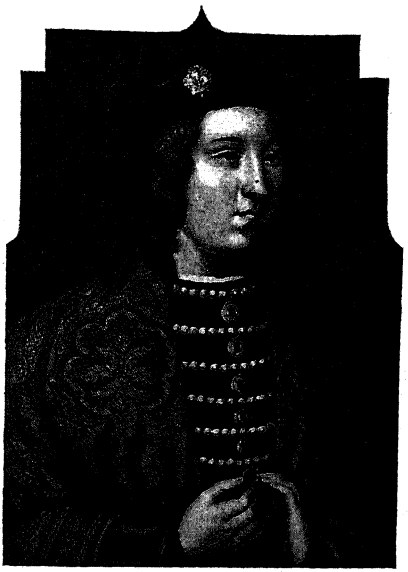
[2] Durham, Part II, No. 36.

Edward was taken unawares. Warwick, aided by the gold of Louis XI, entered England, and the king, deserted by his followers, was compelled to flee for safety to his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, in October, 1470. Henry VI was restored. But the Lancastrian success lasted for less than six months. In March, 1471, Edward, aided in his turn by the wealth of the duke of Burgundy, landed at Ravenspur and marching toward London met Warwick and the Lancastrians at Barnet, April 14, 1471, and won a decisive victory.[1] To the lasting benefit of England, Warwick was slain, and with him his brother, Lord Montague, and other Lancastrian leaders. Important though the victory was, Edward had still to reckon with Margaret of Anjou, who, on the very day of the battle of Barnet, had landed at Weymouth, on the coast of England. The final engagement took place at Tewkesbury, and again Edward won the day. The young Prince of Wales, Margaret's son, was slain, it is said, by Richard, Earl of Gloucester, Edward's brother. No important Lancastrian noble survived the battle and the vengeance of the Yorkists. Even the old King Henry was put to death in the Tower, on May 21, probably at the instigation of King Edward himself.[2]

156. Edward IV as Undisputed King: Foreign and Commercial Policy. — A terrible fate had fallen on the Lancastrian house; not a member remained to thwart the policy of the Yorkist king. Edward now entered upon the last period of his reign, which was in the main peaceful. He undertook a war with France in 1475, to aid his brother-in-law, Charles the Bold, in the latter's struggle with his liege lord, Louis XI;[3] and another in 1482 with the Scots, to dethrone James III (who had been friendly to the cause of the Lancastrians, and whose aunt had married Louis XI before Louis became king), and to place in his stead on the Scottish throne his exiled brother, Alexander, Duke of Albany. Beyond these expeditions,

[1] Kendall, Nos. 42, 43; Durham, Part II, Nos. 37–44.
[2] Durham, Part II, Nos. 45–47. [3] Durham, Part II, No. 50.

which came to little, Edward showed no warlike zeal; and the most important consequence of his wars was the introduction of a new method of raising money by compelling the wealthy to make to the king loans or free gifts, called benevolences.[1] In 1478 Edward took vengeance on his own brother, the "perjured Clarence" (p. 217), and caused him to be executed, — to be drowned, we are told, in a butt of Malmsey wine.[2]



EDWARD IV.

From Vertue's engraving, based on "an antient painting in the royal collection at Kensington Palace."

Edward was a man of energy and ability and great military sagacity, but he was cruel, idle, and sensual. He lived a hard life, and died at the early age of forty-one. Popular sympathy was with him generally during the long struggle, and he in return did a great deal to promote the welfare of the burgher and commercial classes. As early as 1463 parliament had forbidden the importation of foreign corn into England, hoping in that way to improve the condition of the farming classes. Later it had prohibited the importation of foreign manufactured goods into England, that an interest in manufacturing might spring up at home. Parliament also passed a statute in 1465, regulating the manufacture of cloth; and it further discouraged the exportation of wool, that the weavers

[1] Durham, Part II, Nos. 53, 54, 55. [2] Durham, Part II, Nos. 49, 52.

might not be deprived of material for their work. On the commercial side, Edward arranged treaties with Denmark, Burgundy,[1] and the Hanse towns, the importance of which became manifest in 1470, when all the great trading bodies, the Hanseatic League and the Flemish and Dutch corporations, persuaded the duke of Burgundy to aid Edward to recover his throne. Edward encouraged shipping, built up the navy, and began the restoration of England's control of the adjoining waters, and in so doing prepared the way for the expansion of England's commerce and sea power during the reign of the Tudors. He died in 1483, leaving three children — two boys and a girl — a prey to the factions that he himself had scarcely been able to control. The eldest of the children succeeded him as Edward V, with his brother, Richard of Gloucester, as regent during the boy's minority.

157. Usurpation of Richard of Gloucester. — As an ally of Edward IV, Richard of Gloucester had shown himself a strong military leader and a faithful associate in the war against the Lancastrians. But he lived at a time when men were cruel and unscrupulous, ready to resort to acts of vengeance in order to overthrow their enemies and to attain their ambitions.

Richard with all his ability seems to have been in no way different from his brother, or from others who had been guilty of deeds of merciless brutality. He was charged with having murdered the son of Henry VI after the battle of Tewkesbury, with having stabbed Henry himself in the Tower, with having stirred up Edward to the execution of Clarence. Now, as regent for the young king, Edward V, he filled the measure of his evil deeds by slaying the nobles who opposed him and by putting out of the way the heirs to the throne.[2]

First, in 1483, he struck down the Woodvilles, whom Edward had raised to positions of prominence, by causing Lord Rivers and Lord Grey to be executed, and by putting to death Lord Hastings of the king's council, who had joined the Woodvilles

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 130.

[2] Durham, Part II, Nos. 57–61.

against him. Then, declaring that the marriage between Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville had been invalid,[1] and that their children were consequently illegitimate, he caused the king and the king's brother, the duke of York, to be seized and imprisoned in the Tower. Parliament, packed with the enemies of the Woodvilles, proclaimed Richard king on June 25, and on July 6 caused him to be crowned.[2] During the summer or autumn of 1483 the princes were put to death.[3] History has laid the crime at the feet of Richard, and there is no good reason to doubt the truth of the verdict. But the facts were not at first known, and Richard was able to retain his hold upon the people.

158. Richard III. — For a year he ruled with no little wisdom, aiming evidently at strengthening his position by making friends with all classes. He concluded a truce with Scotland, entered into amicable arrangements with Burgundy and the papacy, released prisoners, and conciliated influential nobles by lavish grants and important offices. He continued Edward IV's policy of forbidding foreign imports and strengthening the navy, but he abolished the "benevolences," whereby Edward had sought to obtain money for his wars.[4]

All this proved vain. Steadily Richard's popularity decreased and his supporters deserted him. Before October, 1484, a conspiracy had been formed against him, under the headship of Henry, Earl of Richmond, who through his mother, Margaret Beaufort, niece of Edmund Somerset, was descended from John of Gaunt. Richard struggled to maintain his position,[5] but misfortune after misfortune came upon

[1] The reasons were these: no banns had been published, the service had been performed in a profane (unconsecrated) place, a private chamber, and the king had already plighted his troth to Dame Eleanor Butteler, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury. According to the idea of the time, troth-plight was deemed as binding as a legal marriage.

[2] In January of the following year parliament passed an act establishing Richard's title to the crown. Adams and Stephens, No. 131.

[3] Colby, No. 48; Durham, Part II, No. 62.

[4] Adams and Stephens, No. 133.

[5] See his proclamation against Henry; Durham, Part II, No. 67.

him. His son died in 1484, his wife in 1485. Finally, when in June of the latter year Richmond landed at Milford Haven, Richard knew that his cause was lost. On Bosworth Field he was defeated and slain, and Richmond was proclaimed king as Henry VII.[1] The Wars of the Roses were over, and for England the Middle Ages had ended.

159. The Results of the Wars. — The Wars of the Roses had been a duel to the death between the great baronial families. In every case the victor had followed up the successful battle with vindictive cruelty, putting to death all those who fell into his hands. Warwick had commanded his men to slay all the knights and nobles at Northampton; Lord Clifford had stabbed the young Rutland, Richard of York's son, at Wakefield, with the cry, "Thy father slew mine, and now I will slay thee!" Those who were not killed in battle were, if captured, executed without mercy. After Towton nearly fifty Lancastrians of noble rank were beheaded, and after Tewkesbury many others of the same party suffered a like fate. In 1485 scarcely a Lancastrian of high rank was living, and even among the Yorkists many a family had lost its leading members. This meant that the factional family strife which had existed in one form or another for a century was over, and that feudalism as a political influence in England was dead.

160. Decay of Villeinage. — At the same time that the Wars of the Roses were completing the downfall of feudalism, bondage also was passing away. This was not due to the Black Death, the Peasants' Revolt, or the Wars of the Roses. The last-named conflict, except as it led to the ravaging and impoverishing of the country, probably had but little influence upon the condition of the peasantry. The decay of villeinage was due to the fact that the old wasteful methods of agriculture were too uneconomical to exist under the new conditions of industry and commerce. By 1450 the old manorial system

[1] Durham, Part II, No. 68.

had almost completely broken down.[1] Some of the villeins had been manumitted by their lords; others had deserted the manors and had taken service in the army or navy, had attached themselves as retainers to the great barons, or had gone to the towns to become apprentices, to join the crews of merchant ships, or to become beggars and tramps.

More important than these changes were those which had taken place upon the manors themselves. The lords, finding the old forms of cultivation unprofitable, had been giving up the direct control of their lands. They had been letting them out to their bailiffs or others to manage as they liked, paying the lord — now become a landlord — a fixed sum as rent. With this change had gone another. The villeins, ceasing to do actual work on the lords' land, paid a small amount of money instead. The tenant who had held his land "in villeinage, according to the custom of the manor," now gradually became a copyholder, holding his land according to the terms written on the court roll of the manor. A copyholder was, therefore, simply a villein who knew exactly what were the terms on which he held his land, and who did little or no labor service. He might still bear some of the marks of his villein origin. He might be bound to the soil and be liable to pay chevage, merchet, heriot,[2] and the like; but with the exception of heriot, these payments were enforced less and less as time went on, until they gradually disappeared altogether. This process was hastened by the breaking down of the judicial power of the lords by acts of parliament. Many of the rights which the lords had exercised in their courts were transferred at this time to justices of the peace,[3] who were royal officers, and the power of the

[1] Cheyney, "The Disappearance of English Serfdom," *E. H. R.*, January, 1900; Page, "End of Villainage in England," *Publications American Economic Association*, 1900; Maitland, "History of a Cambridgeshire Manor," *E. H. R.*, July, 1894.

[2] Heriot was the portion of the villein's property that the lord could take at the villein's death, such, for example, as the best beast.

[3] Adams and Stephens, Nos. 77, 124.

lords to punish petty offences and impose fines was reduced to a minimum. Thus arose a class of men, practically free, holding land of a manor, paying a fixed rent and a heriot, and receiving their land according to old mediæval forms in the court baron. This remained the status of copyholders into the nineteenth century, when the old forms were all done away with.

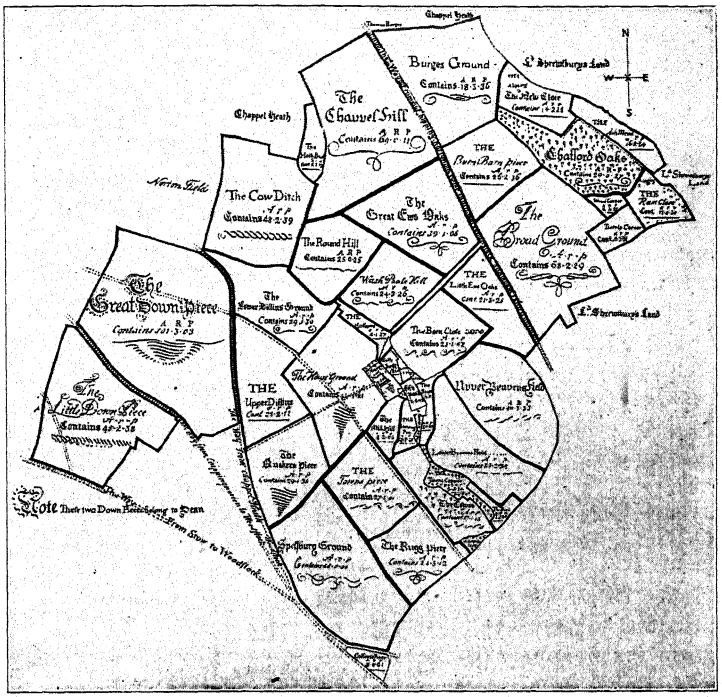


FARM-HOUSE AT OLD SARUM, NEAR SALISBURY.

161. Enclosures. — Thus we see that while the great feudal families were destroying themselves in the Wars of the Roses, the social and agricultural revolution, which had begun among the lower classes a century before, was going steadily on. The lords were becoming landlords, the villeins copyholders, and the manorial courts were being deprived of their powers. But this process took on a new form when, after 1450, in many of the counties, the old open fields were broken up, and the lands which had been hitherto divided into narrow acre strips were thrown together and hedged in. Even before 1450 some of the lords had begun to enclose their demesne lands and the meadows and waste lands in the interest of better farming

methods. But after that time began the enclosing of the commons and of the lands occupied by the villeins.

At first this was for the purpose of carrying on farming on a large scale. But soon landlords discovered that sheep raising was more profitable than agriculture. Then they began to con-



A Map of Chalford Farm, in the Parish of Enston, in the County of Oxford.

The fields are no longer divided into strips and unhedged, as in map facing p. 173. They have been enclosed, and the property has been let out as a farm.

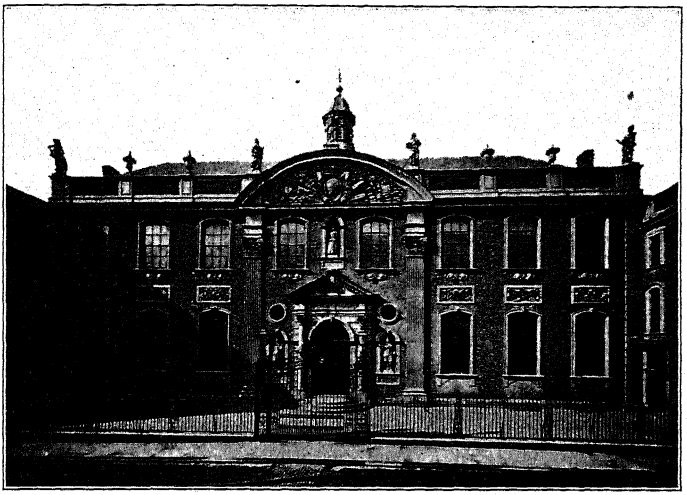
vert their arable land into pasture, and to turn great numbers of the customary tenants or villeins out of their tenements. This process had only just begun in 1485, when Henry of Richmond became king, but it continued during the next

century; and though, as we shall see, attempts were made to check it on account of the great discontent and misery that it caused, it went on, in Kent, Essex, Hertford, Suffolk, and Worcester, into Elizabeth's reign. In other counties, enclosing for pasture did not go very far during this period, land still remained under tillage, and agriculture and corn-raising continued to prevail. In the reign of Edward VI the far-reaching effects of this agrarian revolution were to become evident.

162. The Industrial Revolution of the Fifteenth Century. — Until the fifteenth century England had been a land in which agriculture was the main source of wealth, and the landowners, that is, the old feudal lords, were the most prominent people of the kingdom. But the fifteenth century saw the beginning of a great change that was not to be completed for five centuries. Agriculture ceasing to be profitable, the feudal lords became land poor, and a new aristocracy arose, whose wealth lay in industrial and commercial undertakings. The growing importance of towns, trade, manufactures, and capital marks the entrance of England on her career as a commercial and industrial state.

In the Middle Ages the centre of the industrial life had been the town; and the town, not the central government, controlled all matters of trade and commerce. All that kings and parliaments had done was to make treaties that would increase the prosperity of the towns. We have seen that Edward III, in his effort to increase the customs revenues, had sought to break down the monopoly of the towns by permitting aliens to trade in England. But his attempt had failed, and the privileges were eventually restored. In consequence of the law of Richard II, which forbade aliens to buy or sell in England, the towns during the fifteenth century had command of the situation, and except in London, developed an exceedingly narrow and selfish system of regulating industry and trade. The craft gilds, which had supplanted the old merchant gild, became almost despotic, and the weakness of the Lancastrian kings and the disorders of the Wars of the Roses left them free to pursue their courses undis-

turbed. They allowed no one to do business in the towns unless he were a member of one of the crafts, and regulated the details of the business with extraordinary minuteness and care. Among the gilds, distinctions began to appear between the merchants or dealers, who handled goods, and the artisans or handworkers, who made them; and within each gild, between the richer masters on one side and the poorer masters and



THE GUILDHALL, WORCESTER.

journeymen on the other. The severity of the regulations, the jealousy of the crafts for each other, and the want of unity among the members of each gild, led to their eventual downfall.

The old towns paid the penalty of their selfishness. Under the new conditions of trade they were outstripped in the race by other towns, in which the old gild restrictions did not exist. Towns like Norwich, Exeter, York, Winchester, and Southampton, representing the earliest period in the growth of industry, gave way before such new industrial centres as Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield, which were destined eventually to become the leading industrial cities of the kingdom.

163. Growth of Foreign Trade. — That which broke down the supremacy of the old towns and contributed to the prosperity of the new was foreign trade. Until the middle of the fourteenth century, England, as has already been said (pp. 147, 166), had furnished for export only raw materials, such as wool, wool-fells, leather, lead, and tin; and at first the business of exporting these materials lay in the hands of strangers and not of Englishmen. It was an important step when Englishmen, the Merchant Staplers, began to do their own exporting of raw material, chiefly wool, to a staple town on the Continent, such as Calais (p. 167). It was a still more important step when in the fifteenth century England began to work up her own wool, instead of sending it to Flanders and elsewhere to be woven. This home industry was bound to injure, and eventually to destroy, the business of the Staplers, because their supply of wool would thenceforth be utilized at home.

In consequence of the new industry, a new body of merchants came into existence, exporting not raw wool, but manufactured cloths, and carrying their goods not to one fixed place, but "venturing" at first wherever they could find a market. These were called the Merchant Adventurers, and they boldly competed with foreign merchants in Holland, Spain, Venice, and other lands. At first separate towns sent out their fleets; but later, individuals acting together in the form of stock companies carried on the business, until, at the end of the fifteenth century, half of the English cloths were carried in English vessels. The Merchant Adventurers, by dealing in manufactured woollen cloths instead of raw wool, broke the power of the Merchant Staplers; by doing their own carrying trade, they succeeded before 1500 in wresting the foreign commerce of England from the Hanseatic League in the Baltic and from the Venetians in the Mediterranean. By the reign of Henry VII they had become a regularly organized company, carrying the greater part of England's exports in English vessels, and laying the foundation of England's greatness as a trading and commercial state.

Thus we see that while the Wars of the Roses effected the overthrow of the feudal nobility, they did not prevent a real progress from taking place among the other classes of the kingdom. In the downfall of villeinage, the self-reliance of the towns, the rise of manufacturing, and the growth of commerce, we see the beginnings of a new English society. As has been well said, "The men of the new learning, the men of the Reformation, the men who revealed the New World, were men who had been formed under the influences of the fifteenth century." And the security which Henry VII brought to the English land after the confusion of the Wars of the Roses made permanent the advantages thus gained.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER IX. — The history of the House of Lancaster has yet to be written. The material is scanty, because the old chronicles come to an end with the close of the fourteenth century, and the official records do not begin till 1509. The only satisfactory brief account of the period is Gairdner's *The Houses of Lancaster and York* (1889), Epoch Series. Two voluminous works exist of great value for the facts that they contain: Wylie's *History of England under Henry IV*, four vols. (1884–1898), is scholarly and detailed, but hardly easy to read; Ramsey's *Lancaster and York*, 1399–1485, two vols. (1892), is of a similar character, but less complete. Kingsford has written a *Henry V* (1901) for the Heroes of the Nations Series that is in many ways excellent, though too eulogistic. Wylie is preparing a *History of England under Henry V*, and in the meantime has put forth a delightful series of lectures on *The Council of Constance to the Death of Hus* (1900), which deals with an ecclesiastical aspect of Henry V's reign, and supplements the author's valuable chapters on the Council of Pisa and kindred subjects in his *Henry IV*. This is the more to be appreciated in that Capes (*A History of the English Church*, Vol. III, 1900) has nothing to say on these subjects. Capes has, furthermore, but one chapter (X) on ecclesiastical history, from 1422 to 1485. The great guide to the constitutional history of the period is Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, Vol. III. This work comes to an end with the year 1485, and the want of a similar history for the later period is felt by every student of the constitutional history of England; for, notwithstanding the somewhat formal and impersonal style which makes the history hard reading, it is the work of an author "whose every word is weighty."

The vexed problem of the character of Richard III can be understood from reading Gairdner's critical articles in the *English Historical Review*, Vol. VI, pp. 444–464, 813–815, "Did Henry VII murder the Princes?" and a comment on the subject may be found in Busch's *England Under the Tudors*, Appendix I, note 1. It is significant that Gairdner, the chief authority for this period, who published a *Life of Richard III* in 1878, found no reason to change his unfavorable opinion of Richard when, twenty years afterward, he issued a revised edition (1898).

On the social and economic condition of the people in towns and country, different views have been held, some writers deeming the fifteenth century a time of unalloyed misery, others, a period of prosperity and progress. Denton, in *England in the Fifteenth Century* (1889), inclines to the first opinion, and should be corrected by Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry*, Vol. I, Book IV. Cheyney, Chap. VI, and Warner, Chaps. V–VII, are useful and suggestive. Cheyney's *Social Changes in England* (1895) contains helpful quotations from contemporary writers and an excellent bibliography. A valuable book on the commons is Scrutton's *Commons and Common Fields* (1887); and for agriculture in general, see Prothero's *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming* (1888), Chap. II. An exceptionally useful book, dealing with the early business men of England, is Fox Bourne's *English Merchants* (1886), giving accounts of De la Pole, Canynges, and others. For everything relating to the towns of this period, see Mrs. Green's *Town Life of the Fifteenth Century*, two vols. (1894); it is interesting and scholarly.

CHAPTER X.

THE TUDORS AND THE REFORMATION.

164. Character of the Period. — Under the Tudors, that is, from the accession of Henry VII through the reign of Elizabeth, a new England was coming into being. Instead of the narrow, local life of the manors, towns, and gilds, there gradually appeared the larger life of the nation. Men were interesting themselves not merely in the small affairs of their own locality, but also in the larger affairs of the state as a whole, and were beginning to see that the welfare of the people of all England was of greater consequence than the welfare of only a part. Not until men realized this fact, as they had not in the Middle Ages, could a true national feeling be said to exist. This new national pride enhanced the prestige of the monarchs, because in the greatness of their kings men saw the greatness of their state also. Under the Tudors the power of the kings increased at home, because they catered to this growing national feeling. Inevitably their influence increased abroad also, for England was becoming not only a state united in itself, but also a state among other states, and the people desired that their sovereigns — Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth — should play an important part in Continental affairs, not as feudal lords, as in the old days, but as kings and queens of England.

165. Henry's Claims and Character. — The great importance of the reign of Henry VII lies in the fact that it brought security and rest to England after the disturbed period of the Wars of the Roses. On his father's side Henry was a grandson of Owen Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, whom Katherine, the widow of Henry V, had married, and nephew of Jasper Tudor,



CHAPEL OF HENRY VII.

This chapel was begun in 1502 and completed in 1520. In the foreground are beautiful brass-covered gates, bearing the roses of the houses of Lancaster and York. On each side of the chapel are stalls for knights of the Order of the Bath, above which are the swords and banners of the members.

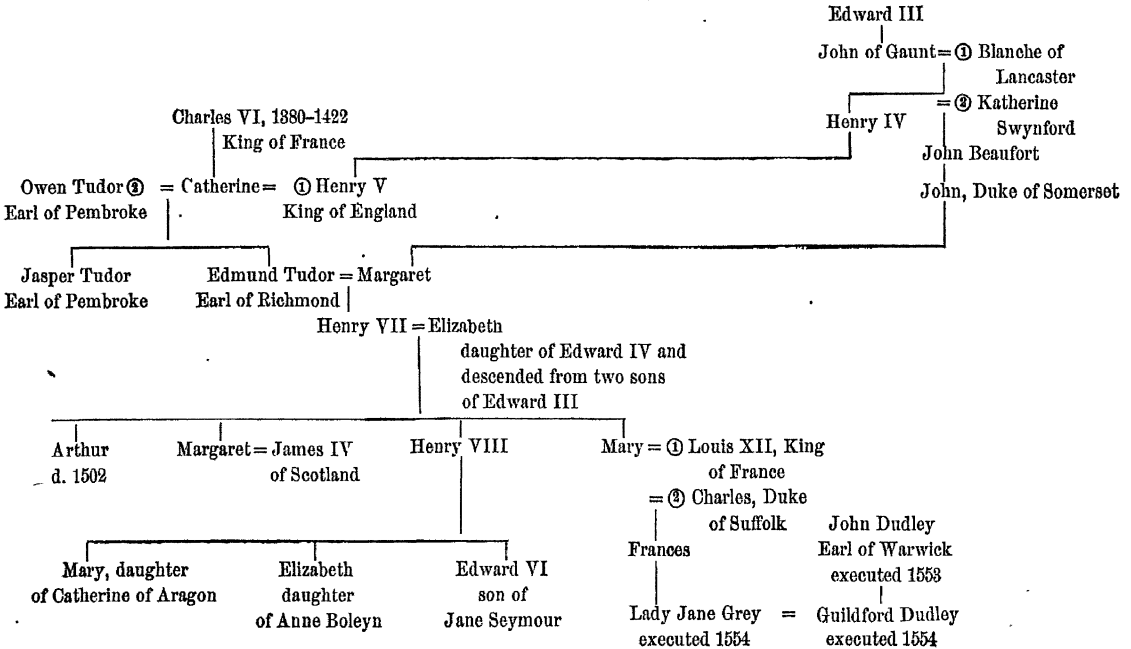
who had been beaten by the Yorkists at Mortimer's Cross in 1461. On his mother's side he was a great-grandson of John of Gaunt. In his statement to parliament he rested his claims chiefly on his hereditary right. But he had also other titles, no one of them very sound, yet under the circumstances adequate. He had conquered at Bosworth Field; and on the field of battle, Sir William Stanley, who had deserted Richard during the battle, had placed the fallen crown on the head of Henry as the only remaining representative of the Lancastrian line. Two months afterward Henry was crowned in London (October 30), and a week later parliament ratified the act by declaring that the inheritance of the crown should abide in him and in his heirs.[1] In November the pope, Innocent VIII, issued a bull in his favor, and in January, 1486, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, thus uniting the two houses of Lancaster and York in his support. He had not married Elizabeth before, because he did not wish to be charged with having derived his title from a Yorkist. Yet all these claims taken together would have given him but an insecure position had he not been a man able to hold against all comers that which he had won.

Henry in character represented the old and the new eras. He was a good deal of an ecclesiastic, favoring the church and choosing his chief ministers from among the clergy. Like a mediæval king, he was reserved and dignified, something of a dreamer by nature, and loved ecclesiastical culture and art, as the chapel of Henry VII, in Westminster, attests. On the other hand, in his shrewdness and thrift, he was wholly unlike a mediæval king. He had been trained in a school of attainder and exile, which made him suspicious and cautious, and he was confronted by dangers which made him politic and stern. He disliked war, recognized the importance of the industrial and wealth-producing middle class, knew the value of money and the usefulness of diplomacy, and made it his chief aim to

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 134.

THE TUDORS.

(*See also table, p. 216.*)



strengthen the government at home, and in foreign relations to raise it out of the insular position that it held and to give it place in the councils of Europe. He was just the type of king to prepare England for a great career.

166. Conspiracies against Henry VII.—To make his place more secure, Henry VII had imprisoned the Yorkist heir, Edward, son of the duke of Clarence and nephew of Edward IV. But this did not save him from attempts on the part of the Yorkist leaders to dethrone him. In 1487 a youth, Lambert Simnel, personating the imprisoned heir, raised a rebellion in Ireland which was supported by the whole Yorkist party, even including the queen mother, Elizabeth Woodville. The uprising was formidable in that it was aided by Margaret of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV and widow of Charles the Bold. But Henry, acting quickly, defeated the insurgents at Stoke, slew John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, nephew of Edward IV, and capturing Simnel, contemptuously made him a kitchen boy in his palace.

In 1492 another rebellion was set on foot with Perkin (or Peterkin) Warbeck as the impersonator of Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the princes murdered in the Tower. Again the opposition forces rallied about the new claimant. For a moment they were joined by Charles VIII of France, who should have been on friendly terms with Henry, because his father (Louis XI) had favored the Lancastrians, but who was angry with the English king because of a dispute over Brittany. Warbeck's cause was upheld, as was to have been expected, by Margaret of Burgundy, "whose palace," says Bacon, "was the sanctuary and receptacle of all traitors against the king." But by making a treaty with Charles VIII in 1492, Henry deprived Perkin of his refuge in France, and retaliated upon Margaret for her support of the pretender by forbidding in 1494 all commerce with the Netherlands, of which provinces Margaret was the overlord. He transferred to Calais the market maintained by the Merchant Adventurers in Antwerp, and drove the Flemish from London. Philip the Handsome, grandson of

Charles the Bold, and son of Maximilian the emperor, held out for two years; but the Flemings forced him to yield, and in 1496 a new treaty was agreed upon, called the *Magnus Intercursus*.[1]

Having been successful abroad, Henry now determined to break the rebellion at home, knowing that Perkin found his chief friends within the realm. He caused eight Yorkist noblemen to be seized, and four of them to be beheaded. Then he struck higher and put to death Sir William Stanley, who had aided him at Bosworth.[2] Perkin fled to Ireland, "the soil where these mushroom and upstart weeds, that spring up in a night, did chiefly prosper." Already, in 1494, Henry, enraged by the support which both Simnel and Perkin had obtained there, had sent over Sir Edward Poynings as deputy, who sought to effect — in what is known as Poynings' Acts (1494) — the subordination of the Irish to the English parliament.[3] Perkin's career was about over. He fled to Scotland, but in 1497 returned to Ireland, and crossing to Cornwall, was defeated and captured there in 1499. He was imprisoned in the Tower, and later, when he and his fellow-prisoner, Edward, Earl of Warwick, attempted to escape, their plan was discovered, and both were executed.

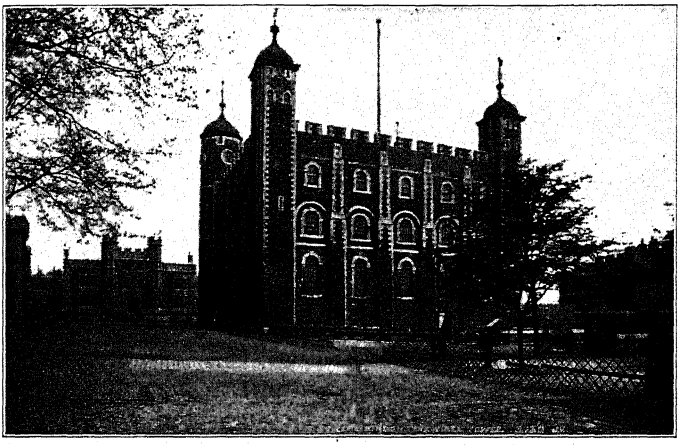
The struggle with the pretenders, which had continued for

[1] The importance of the Perkin Warbeck conspiracy lies in the fact that it gave an opportunity for all the enemies of Henry in Ireland, Scotland, France, and Burgundy to attempt his overthrow. A thorough study of the conspiracy would involve a study of the diplomatic and commercial relations of England with each of these countries for many years. Perkin Warbeck himself is really lost sight of in the presence of this greater issue. See Busch, *England under the Tudors*, Vol. I; Gairdner, *Life of Richard III*, to which is added the story of Warbeck from original records, and article on "Warbeck" in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[2] On Stanley's connection with the Warbeck affair, see Busch, *England under the Tudors*, Vol. I, pp. 95–96, and *E. H. R.*, 1899, pp. 529–530.

[3] Poynings opened an Irish parliament at Drogheda, which passed the statute of Drogheda, otherwise known as Poynings' Law. This provided that "no Irish parliament should be summoned or act passed without the previous approval of the English king."

fourteen years, had ended in the death or subjection of those of the nobility who opposed the claims of Henry VII to the throne. But the king during these years had never lost sight of the greater needs of the kingdom. He strengthened the authority of the crown by extending the jurisdiction and power of the king's council and by employing parliament largely as a money-granting body. He recognized the value of a well-filled treasury and sought to obtain money by means often of



THE TOWER OF LONDON.

The building represented is the White Tower, the original Keep built in 1078, a fine example of Norman architecture. For location, see plan, p. 187.

doubtful legitimacy. He advanced the general prosperity of the kingdom by encouraging commerce, agriculture, and to a slight degree, colonization. And, lastly, he made England's name known abroad by favorable foreign alliances.

167. The King's Council. — Henry transformed the king's council into an efficient executive ally with well-defined powers. This is an important constitutional fact, inasmuch as the council, from the accession of Henry VII to the days of the Long Parliament, was the chief instrument used by the king to govern the kingdom.

In origin, the council — the great council of Norman days — was simply a body of royal advisers. This body since the fourteenth century had had a varied career, sometimes aiding the king and sometimes thwarting his policy. By the term "council" is meant the Ordinary Council — the whole body of advisers, within which was the Privy Council, a special committee of advice for the king. The functions of the council had been extensive, and largely of an administrative and judicial character. Before the time of Henry VII it had been accustomed to meet in what was called the Star Chamber in the palace and there to do business, in the course of which it was frequently called upon to consider legal cases for which no redress could be obtained in the common law courts. Henry took an important step in 1487, when, after the conspiracy of Lambert Simnel, he caused parliament to pass an act setting apart a special committee of five of the Ordinary Council and the two chief justices to consider such offences of the great nobles as the maintaining of bodies of retainers, intimidating juries, inciting to riot, and the like.[1] This special court did good work, and many a great lord was heavily fined for keeping too large a following about him and attempting to intimidate the lower courts. The earl of Oxford, for example, was fined, in the money of that day, £15,000 for the livery that he incautiously displayed on the occasion of a royal visit.[2]

In 1494, Henry gave definite form to another judicial function of the council and at the same time showed his interest in the middle classes by establishing, without act of parliament, the Court of Requests, or, as it was first called, the Court of Poor Men's Causes, for men too poor to sue in the common law courts.[3] The court concerned itself only with civil,

[1] For the origin of the Star Chamber the best account is in Scofield, *A Study of the Court of Star Chamber* (1900); Adams and Stephens, No. 136.

[2] For Henry VII's Act against Liveries, see Adams and Stephens, No. 138.

[3] Leadam, Introduction to *Select Pleas from the Records of the Court of Requests*, Selden Society Publications. Too little attention has been paid in the past to this court and its work. Busch barely mentions it under the name Court of Appeal, *England under the Tudors*, Vol. I, p. 269.

not criminal, matters. The advantage of each of these courts was that procedure in them was simple, honest, and cheap; whereas to win a case in the common law courts required much money and a great length of time. The common law courts were, furthermore, frequently controlled by the landed aristocracy and in them justice was not always easily obtainable.

Thus the king not only curtailed the power of the nobility by enforcing the law against them, but he stood as the protector of the people against the aggressions of the local aristocracy. Such a course was bound to make the king popular with the nation.

168. Parliament under Henry VII. — Henry was rarely opposed by parliament during his reign, and in the main he was able to use that body as a source of supply. This was possible for several reasons. Under the Lancastrians — Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI — parliament had been strong because the clergy and commons had aided the lords, their natural leaders in parliament, to check the excesses and to limit the powers of the kings. But during the Wars of the Roses the clergy had withdrawn from political life, the old nobility had been almost exterminated, and the commons were left without guidance and support. From 1460 to 1485 but seven parliaments had been summoned, and owing to the restrictions that had been placed on the right to vote, these had been elected by only one-tenth of the population. Many of the boroughs, too, that sent up members were controlled by the moneyed aristocracy, so that the parliament was not in any sense a representative body even of that tenth. Just as the new aristocracy packed the local juries, so they packed the House of Commons and filled it with members willing to adopt the policy of the king, because he in his turn favored their commercial and trading interests. We may say, in fact, that the king took the place formerly occupied by the feudal lords, as the leader and guide of the commons, and was able to obtain from parliament pretty much what he pleased.

Nevertheless, the Tudors adhered to the letter of the con-

stitution and never violated the prerogatives of parliament. They listened with infinite patience to the expressions of popular will and rarely went counter to them. They were absolute only because the commons suffered them to be so; and they were able to concentrate power in their own hands, because the nation believed that a strong monarch was necessary. England wanted security, prestige, wealth, and influence, and these could not be obtained under the rule of a nobility always quarrelling among themselves or of a parliament always quarrelling with the king. The time had not come for the House of Commons to take the lead. What England needed at this time was a strong executive, and that the Tudors gave her.

Henry summoned parliament but seven times in twenty-four years. His object was generally to obtain money, for parliament controlled the purse strings; but he also presented other important matters for enactment as law which were intended to secure the royal power.

169. Henry's Methods of Obtaining Money. — The accumulation of wealth became almost a mania with Henry VII, and as parliamentary grants generally proved insufficient, he was compelled to resort to other means whereby to increase his revenues. He does not appear to have been a miser, for he was liberal at times and loved ostentatious display; but he valued a large treasure for the independence that it gave to the crown and the strength that it gave to the state. On his accession, parliament granted him for life the customs on wine and general merchandise, known as tonnage and poundage, and several times afterward granted him subsidies of a tenth and a fifteenth. But subsidies were unpopular, as is seen from the fact that in 1488 a revolt broke out in the north, and again in 1497 in Cornwall, as a protest against these grants. Henry, therefore, preferred to make forced exactions from the rich by demanding benevolences or loans, which were originally free gifts.

John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, the king's very able chancellor, adopted a method of collecting these loans that

is known as Morton's Fork. He instructed the commissioners, says Bacon, "that if they met any that were sparing they should tell them they needs must have, because they laid up; and if they were spenders they needs must have, because it was seen in their port and manner of living: so neither kind came amiss." Later Henry profited by the methods of Empson and Dudley, barons of the exchequer, who revived the old feudal dues and caused those who infringed the feudal rights of the king to be heavily fined. With the exception of James I, Henry was the last king to demand an aid on the occasion of the marriage of an eldest daughter, and this he did when Margaret married the king of Scotland in 1502.[1] He confiscated the lands and treasure of those who engaged in the conspiracies against him, as in the case of Sir William Stanley; and engaged in royal commercial ventures that brought him in profit. Little wonder that at his death he should have left to his son a hoard of bullion, valued at upwards of £ 4,500,000.

170. Commerce, Agriculture, and Colonization. — Though Henry extracted large sums from those who could afford to pay, he was very careful to favor the wealth-producing classes in the kingdom, and he showed his progressive spirit by his attitude toward commerce, industry, and agriculture. Like Louis XI of France, he was a true bourgeois king, a king of the merchants. Through his efforts, England made important progress as a commercial state, carrying in her own vessels the staple articles of the kingdom and trafficking freely in foreign ports. In 1489 Henry gave new life to English shipping by requiring that all wine and woad from Gascony should be imported in vessels owned by English merchants and manned by English sailors.[2] He did all that he could to encourage the Merchant Adventurers, and gave them, in 1505, for the

[1] He was also granted an aid two years later (1504) in consideration of the knighting of his eldest son, Arthur (d. 1502). Adams and Stephens, No. 140.

[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 135. Woad was used for dyeing cloths.

first time, a monopoly of the privileges of Continental trade.[1] Before that time, by a series of commercial treaties, he had opened to them some of the ports of the Baltic, North Sea, and Mediterranean, such as Riga (1489), Iceland (1490), Florence (1490), Burgundy (1495), Netherlands (by the *Magnus Intercursus* in 1496), and Brittany (1497). Through these means England was able to extend her commerce and to develop a navy.

Regarding agriculture Henry's policy was a simple one. Desiring to increase the number of small farmers, on the ground that the farmer or yeoman class was a source of strength to the state, he attempted to check the conversion of arable lands into pasture. In 1489 parliament passed an act for this purpose, but it did not have any effect, and the destruction of small farms and the enclosing of land for pasture and for better farming purposes went on for half a century longer.

Henry did not enter into the larger field of discovery, and at the time when Portugal and Spain were sending explorers to the southern and western Atlantic, he rejected the opportunity to help Columbus discover a new world. He did, however, encourage John Cabot, a Genoese settled in Bristol, England's chief maritime city, and granted to him in 1496 such lands as he should discover to the west, east, and north of England, together with a monopoly of the commerce of those regions. Cabot sailed in 1497, on exactly what day is uncertain, and reached the mouth of the St. Lawrence River.[2] He made a second voyage in February, 1498, of which little is known, but from which he safely returned in the autumn of that year. Upon John Cabot's first voyage rested England's title to lands in America. Henry did not, however, do anything to make

[1] Lingelbach, "The Merchant Adventurers of England" (1902) (*Translations and Reprints*, Second Series, Vol. II). Introd., pp. xxii, xxvi.

[2] Colby, No. 51; Hart, *American History told by Contemporaries*, Vol. I, No. 26. The part played by Sebastian Cabot, the son, is shown by careful investigators to have been grossly exaggerated, and his own tale of his deeds to be largely fiction. He cannot be considered as having "contributed anything to England's maritime greatness."

good the English claims, but recognized Spain's title to all lands south of 41° north latitude. English navigators confined their attention to commerce in the East and to explorations in the northwest, and for a century England lagged behind Portugal, Spain, and France in the opening of the New World.

171. Henry's Foreign Alliances. — Henry knew the value of good foreign connections as well as of foreign markets, and his reign, for that reason, opens a new era in England's diplomacy as well as in her commerce. In truth, the kings of France, Spain, Germany, and England were entering into new leagues and combinations unknown to the earlier period. Each was seeking to gain advantages at the expense of the others, and to form alliances by means of treaties and marriages that would make his position more secure. The chief rivalry lay between the king of France and the Emperor Maximilian. Charles VIII of France had invaded Italy in 1494 to make good the old claim of Charles of Anjou to the kingdom of Sicily (p. 128), and in 1499 Louis XII did the same, seizing the duchy of Milan. Germany and Spain drew together, and Philip, son of Emperor Maximilian, married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Spain wished the friendship of England, and a marriage was arranged between Henry's oldest son, Arthur, and Joanna's younger sister, Catherine of Aragon. The marriage took place in 1501, but the next year Arthur died, and the negotiations were again opened. Henry was unwilling to lose Catherine's marriage portion, only half of which had been paid, while Ferdinand wished to continue the alliance, feeling that he would never get back from Henry the portion already paid. It is said that Henry thought of marrying his daughter-in-law himself, but finally Catherine was betrothed to the second son, Henry, afterward Henry VIII.

Thus Germany, Spain, and England were in alliance. Germany controlled the Netherlands, which had come to Maximilian through his marriage with Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold, and were now in the hands of Philip the Handsome, their son. Every effort was made to draw Scot-

land, too, into the alliance. This was finally effected in 1502, when Henry's eldest daughter, Margaret, married James IV of Scotland, and thus, as events were to prove, laid the foundation of the Stuart claim to the throne of England, which was to be realized just one hundred years later.

172. General View of the Last Years of the Fifteenth Century. — At the end of the fifteenth century great changes were taking place in the world at large. An intellectual revival — the Renaissance — had begun in Italy a century and a half before, and its influence had spread to France and Germany. A new learning, a new art, and a new architecture bore witness to the fact that men had freed themselves from the narrowness of the Middle Ages.

The use of the compass was making possible navigation and geographical discovery, in consequence of which a new world was opening to the knowledge of men. The Atlantic Ocean was becoming a dangerous commercial rival of the Mediterranean and the Baltic, and England, France, Spain, and Portugal, the great maritime states on its coast, were gradually supplanting the Mediæval Empire in political importance.

Gunpowder was gradually destroying the efficiency of the old feudal methods of defence and attack in warfare, and infantry were taking the place of armed men on horseback. Commerce was raising the middle classes to a position in the state of greater importance in the eyes of kings than that which the old nobility had so long occupied. The invention of paper and the printing-press was bringing the new ideas and the new learning to the knowledge of all, and books were taking the place of old manuscripts which had been so laboriously copied. A new system of astronomy — the Copernican — was teaching men gradually but surely that the earth was not the centre of the universe, and that the sun did not revolve about it.

The new thoughts and the new opportunities arising from these changes altered men's ideas about themselves, about their relations to the world they lived in, about their relations to

the church and to God. Already had they begun to doubt the teaching of the mediæval schoolmen and theologians, and it was inevitable that they should begin to ask new questions regarding their duties as Christians and their obligations to their fellow-men.

173. Henry VIII. — All these things were at work in the minds of the people when, in 1509, Henry VII died, and his son, Prince Henry, came to the throne as Henry VIII.[1] The new king was but eighteen years old, handsome, full of life and energy, and eager to have a part in every new interest. He was young when Maximilian, Ferdinand, and Louis XII were growing old, rich when the other monarchs had impoverished themselves in war, popular when the others had to maintain themselves by standing armies.[2] Scarcely was he king when he showed his love for magnificent display. The treasure that his father had accumulated he spent in fêtes, balls, masquerades, theatricals, tournaments, and the like. He was himself the life of the court. He was the most graceful cavalier, the hardiest athlete, the best tennis player, horseman, and lute-player.[3] At first all seemed to be for pleasure; though at the very opening of his reign an ominous note was struck when Empson and Dudley, charged, not with illegal exactions from the people, as might have been expected from their conduct in the previous reign, but with conspiracy against the king, were sent to the Tower and finally executed. This showed a stern will behind the pleasing exterior, a love of power accompanying a love of display and pleasure.

[1] The influence of the Italian Renaissance in England can be traced back to the year 1425. It affected court life and court dress, roused a spirit of patronage in the attitude of princes toward scholars, furnished models in scholarship and poetry, roused a desire for travel, and furnished many arguments in favor of absolute monarchy. Italian merchants and bankers had been in England since the thirteenth century, and had left an indelible impression upon the methods and instruments employed. See Einstein's delightful work, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (1901).

[2] *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 1 (Cheyney, "The Early Reformation Period in England"), pp. 3, 4; Colby, No. 53, A. [3] Kendall, No. 44.

174. The New Learning at Oxford.—During the early years of his reign Henry had become interested in a new movement at Oxford, and had shown himself a friend and patron of the men connected with it. These were John Colet, Thomas More, Desiderius Erasmus, Grocyn, Linacre, and others. Colet,[1] the first of these, had spent some time in Italy and had studied Greek, not for the sake of reading the classics, but in order to interpret the New Testament. Returning to England, he had begun to expound the Epistles of St. Paul, as books to be understood without regard to what the mediæval theologians had said about them. But the chief work of Colet was the founding of a public school, entirely different from the monastic schools, and free from all scholastic teaching. The founding of St. Paul's School marked a new era in the history of education, for later public schools and grammar schools were modelled after it.[2]



JOHN COLET.
Dean of St. Paul's.—From the drawing by Holbein.

While Colet was doing this great work for education, Erasmus[3] was striking a blow at the old ecclesiastical organization and practice. He was a pupil of Colet's, a friend of

[1] Colby, No. 52.

[2] The beginning of the grammar schools can be traced to the towns of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Green, *Town Life*, Vol. II, pp. 12–19. See also Leach's *English Schools at the Reformation*, where the writer enumerates two hundred and four schools in existence in some form or other as early as 1548.

[3] The best life of Erasmus is by Emerton, *Desiderius Erasmus* (1899).

More's, and had learned Greek from Grocyn. It was at More's house that he wrote his famous work, *Praise of Folly*, in which he exposed to ridicule the priests and monks of that day, with their narrow theology, their ignorance, pedantry, and superstitions. He also translated into Latin the New Testament with an accuracy never before attained, for he brought to bear upon it the same rules of philology and criticism that students were applying to the classical authors. His work was revolutionary in that it furnished a new text, free from the errors which were known to be present in the authorized version, the Vulgate.

More's influence was rather political than educational or religious. In 1516 he issued *A Description of the Republic of Utopia* (Nowhere). The first part of this work is a treatise on the miseries of the people,[1] the second an attack in disguise on the political and social vices of the time. In this ideal state the people chose their prince for life, they chose the royal council, they avoided war; their welfare was the object of all government; they possessed better homes, shorter hours of work, property in common, freedom of speech, intellectual and social happiness. The *Utopia* was first written in Latin and not translated into English until 1551.[2]

With this group of scholars, known as the "Oxford Reformers," Henry VIII at first identified himself. He saw in their work nothing revolutionary; he believed their purpose to be the purification of the church, not separation from it. He made Colet court preacher, More under-sheriff of London and afterward chancellor, and gave Erasmus a professorship at Cambridge. Both the king and the reformers were at this time devotedly attached to the Orthodox church and had no sympathy with any one who, like Luther in Germany, was ready to create a schism in the church by separating from it.

[1] Colby, No. 55; Kendall, No. 62.

[2] For the personality of More, see *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 1 (Cheyney), pp. 8–16; Kendall, No. 45.

But Henry VIII was not destined to be a Renaissance king. He was too fond of power, too ready to enter on wars and to juggle with diplomacy. In the years that were to come, instead of following the teaching of the Oxford reformers and favoring peace and toleration, he became hard, cruel, vindictive, intolerant, and full of ingratitude. In no one par-



HENRY VIII AS A PATRON OF LEARNING.
From Vertue's engraving for the Oxford Almanac of the year 1748. Wolsey stands at the king's left hand.

ticular did the England of Henry VIII resemble the Utopia of which Thomas More had dreamed, and it is, therefore, little wonder that the first revival of learning in England should have come to an early and untimely end.

175. Foreign Alliances: Cardinal Wolsey.—Henry's foreign relations were complicated. Even while indulging in the pleasures at court and listening to the Oxford reformers, he was planning to take a part in affairs abroad. Just after his

accession he had married Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow, less from love than from a desire to keep up the alliance with Spain. In 1511 he had joined the Holy League, founded by Pope Julius II, with Maximilian, the emperor, and Ferdinand, king of Spain, against France, whose king, Louis XII, was making himself too strong in Italy.

This policy of opposition to France was popular in England because the people had not forgotten the days of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. A statesman arose at this time who, though a churchman, was to display greater genius in matters of diplomacy than in matters of religion. Thomas Wolsey had been royal chaplain in 1506, and during the years that followed, had shown himself successful in various diplomatic missions intrusted to him by the king. He took up the French war with enthusiasm, and planned an invasion of France by way of the Netherlands. On August 17, 1513, was fought, at Guinegâte, the "battle of the spurs," in which the French were defeated, fleeing from the field of battle as fast as their horses could carry them.

This war with France naturally aroused the Scots, the time-honored allies of France. Taking advantage of Henry's absence, James IV, whose love for Scotland was greater than his love for his brother-in-law (Henry VIII), invaded England, but was met by an English army, under the earl of Surrey, at Flodden Field, near the Tweed, September 9, 1513. The day of Flodden was a sad day for Scotland. James IV was slain, and with him the bravest of the Scottish lords, the flower of Scottish chivalry. All Scotland wept for its king, and for twenty years remained quiet within its borders.

176. Wolsey's Diplomacy. — Henry soon discovered that as his relationship with the Scottish king had not saved England from attack on the north, so his relationship with Ferdinand, who was his father-in-law, and with Maximilian, whose son, Philip, had married his wife's sister, Joanna, was not going to help him in his desire to make conquests in France. In fact, Ferdinand and Maximilian were using Henry as a cat's-

paw. Therefore Wolsey, who completely controlled the foreign policy of the king, determined to effect a change. In 1513 secret negotiations were opened with France, and Henry's sister, Mary, was married in October, 1514, to Louis XII. This would probably have accomplished the desired result had not, unluckily for all except Mary, Louis XII died in 1515. As Ferdinand of Spain died the next year, and Maximilian, the emperor, in 1519, the diplomatic negotiations had to be all done over again, and Wolsey showed wonderful skill in piloting his king through the delicate and complicated situation created by these changes. Francis I succeeded Louis XII in France, and Charles I not only succeeded Ferdinand in Spain, but in 1519, when a new emperor was elected in Germany, was also chosen to succeed his grandfather, Maximilian, under the title of Charles V. Charles I of Spain became Charles V, the emperor, and having Spain, the Indies, Sicily, Naples, the Netherlands, and Germany under his rule, became the most important sovereign in Europe.

At first Wolsey determined to preserve a neutral attitude toward both Charles V and Francis I. He arranged a meeting between Henry and Francis near Calais, where the display was so extravagant as to give to the place of meeting the name of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. But the meeting did not mean very much, for shortly afterward an interview took place between Henry and Charles at Gravelines, where a secret understanding was reached against France. This decidedly double-faced policy could not long be maintained, for as soon as Charles V and Francis began their first war in Italy (1521–1526), Wolsey, compelled to decide either one way or the other, finally advised Henry to assume his former attitude of friendship for Spain, Germany, and the papacy.

177. Wolsey's Ambition. — This friendship was in accord with England's time-honored policy. England's attitude in the past and Henry's marriage connections favored an alliance with Germany and the papacy against France. Charles V was

Henry's nephew by marriage; and with the pope, in religious matters, Henry was in hearty accord. Charles V, wishing to please the pope, had condemned Luther at the Diet of Worms (1521). Henry likewise condemned the Lutheran teachings, in 1522, when he wrote a vigorous pamphlet attacking Luther's doctrines and sent it to the pope, who gave to him in return the title of Defender of the Faith. Furthermore, the pope had sanctioned Henry's marriage with Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow, and had thereby guaranteed the legitimacy of his one surviving child, Mary, who was betrothed to Charles V.

But Wolsey had other reasons for encouraging the alliance. He wanted some day to be pope himself. From dean of Lincoln he had risen to be bishop of Tournai, bishop of Winchester (1514), archbishop of York and chancellor of England



CARDINAL WOLSEY.

From an engraving by Mathews of the statue of Wolsey over the great gate of Tom Tower, Christ Church, Oxford. The statue was executed by Bird in 1719.

(1515), and finally, through Henry's influence, he had been created a cardinal and appointed papal legate in England (1517). It seemed a sure step to the papacy itself, and Wolsey felt almost certain of success. Twice had Charles V promised to aid him: in 1521, after the death of Leo X, and again in 1523, after the death of Hadrian VI; but on each occasion he had failed to keep his promise. Wolsey still hoped, and supported the cause of the papacy against Luther, and the alliance of Henry with Charles V, because only thereby could he expect to gain his great end.

Wolsey's position was a dangerous one. He was hated by the nobility, who looked upon him as an upstart. He had become very unpopular with the people on account of the heavy taxes which he had caused to be levied by parliament to pay for the king's wars, and he had given offence everywhere by his extravagant habits and haughty demeanor.[1] He was now in danger of losing the papacy, and after that the one thing that would ruin him would be the loss of the king's favor.

178. The Divorce. — Skilful as had been Wolsey's diplomacy, the cardinal had really gained little for his master, and had not a large amount to his credit when he was confronted with a situation as unexpected as it was serious.

In 1525 Charles V had captured Francis I at Pavia, and instead of allowing Henry VIII to share in this advantage, had come to terms with the French king and let him go. Shortly afterward the emperor repudiated Princess Mary, Henry's daughter, and married a Portuguese infanta. These acts were construed as insults by the English king. Finally, in 1527, Charles allowed Rome to be sacked, and the pope, Clement VII, who was secretly an ally of France, to be captured and shut up in the castle of St. Angelo. This act convinced Henry that Charles V was becoming too important in Europe, and that the Tudor house had no further advantages

[1] *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 1 (Cheyney), p. 2; Colby, No. 53, B.

to gain from a continuance of the alliance with him. Henry determined, therefore, to break with the emperor, and was urged to do this by Wolsey, who in despair of help from Charles V, advocated an alliance with France in order to rescue the pope from prison.

But Henry had in mind another scheme, which did not originate with Wolsey. He wished to get rid of his wife, Catherine of Aragon, who was, as we know, the aunt of Charles V. He had no son, and feared lest in the event of the death of his daughter, Mary, there might be a struggle for the throne. But a more potent cause lay in the king's passion for one of the maids of honor of his court, Anne Boleyn, an attractive Irish beauty of twenty, daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, and granddaughter, on her mother's side, of the earl of Surrey, who had won the battle of Flodden.

But how could this be done? A dispensation of Julius II, twenty years before, had legalized Henry's marriage with Catherine, and it seemed unlikely that the present pope would declare the act of his predecessor void. Wolsey at first knew nothing of Henry's desire to marry Anne Boleyn and was willing to obtain, if he could, the pope's consent to the divorce, hoping that Henry would strengthen the alliance with France by marrying Renée, daughter of Louis XII. But Wolsey was soon undeceived. Henry wished no marriage with a princess of France; he wished a divorce from Catherine that he might marry Anne Boleyn, and no other. From November, 1527, when the pope escaped from St. Angelo, to the following June, Henry, through others than Wolsey, made every effort to get the dispensation of Pope Julius declared ineffective. Finally, in June, 1528, Clement issued a commission authorizing Cardinal Campeggio and Cardinal Wolsey to hold a legatine court in England, to inquire into the facts, and to pronounce judgment. Campeggio, delayed by sickness, did not reach England till the end of September, and then his first endeavor was to dissuade Henry and Wolsey from their course. But Henry would not yield, and at last, on June 18, 1529, the court was

opened. For a month evidence was taken,[1] and on July 23 Campeggio, following the practice of the court of Rome, adjourned the case till October. But during the summer the pope, influenced by an appeal of Queen Catherine, took the case out of the hands of the legatine court and removed it to Rome. This change of jurisdiction meant indefinite delay.[2]

179. Fall of Wolsey. — Henry was enraged. Influenced by Anne Boleyn, whose position at court had made possible the return to power of Wolsey's enemies (the duke of Norfolk, son of the earl of Surrey and Anne Boleyn's uncle, and the duke of Suffolk, who hated Wolsey), he determined on the cardinal's downfall. Wolsey had known from the first that whichever way the divorce suit was decided, the end was likely to be fatal to himself; for if he failed, Henry was bound to be angry and to withdraw his favor, while if he succeeded, the elevation of Anne Boleyn and the return to power of her party would mean his ruin. Before the end of 1529 the blow fell. Wolsey, charged with acting as papal legate in England contrary to the statute of *præmunire*,[3] was convicted and deprived of nearly all his honors and goods. The archbishopric of York alone was left to him. Later, charged with treason, he was summoned to London, but died at Leicester Abbey, November 29, 1530. "Ah! Master Kingston," he said upon his deathbed to the lieutenant of the Tower, "if I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs."

180. Thomas Cromwell and his Policy. — Thus far Henry had failed in his dealings with Rome. After Wolsey's downfall, the duke of Norfolk, coming to power with More as chancellor, continued the negotiations, but in vain. Then Henry began to listen to a new adviser, and to consider the adoption of a new

[1] Lee, No. 105.

[2] In the account I have followed Gairdner, "New Light on the Divorce of Henry VIII," *E. H. R.*, 1896, 1897. See the same writer's chapter in his volume (IV) of *A History of the English Church*, Chap. VI.

[3] *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 1 (Cheyney), p. 8.

policy. The man who now gained the king's ear was Thomas Cromwell, a layman of low birth, but a bold and original statesman, a follower of Machiavelli and of Italian statecraft,[1] and a man well tried in Wolsey's service. He pointed out to Henry the needlessness of papal decrees and the desirability of throwing off entirely the papal yoke. Henry was not willing to proceed to extremes at once, but determined to take such steps as would force the pope to come to a decision on the divorce question; or, if that were impossible, such steps as would prepare the way for a final separation from Rome. In this determination Henry was influenced not only by his desire to marry Anne Boleyn, but by his greedy longing for the wealth of the ecclesiastics and the monasteries, and his eagerness to increase his power over the English church.

First, in 1530 and 1531, Henry charged the entire body of the clergy with having violated the statute of *præmunire*, because they had recognized Wolsey's authority as papal legate. This act rendered the clergy liable to a confiscation of all their goods. Though the convocations of Canterbury and York offered to buy the king's pardon with £ 100,000 sterling, Henry refused to grant pardon except in case they recognized him as "The Sole Protector and Supreme Head of the Church." The clergy finally yielded in 1531; and furthermore, the next year agreed that they would not meet in convocation or adopt any ecclesiastical ordinances without the royal consent.[2] This attack on the church led to Sir Thomas More's resignation as chancellor. More saw the coming revolution, and, wholly out of sympathy with the new policy, refused to have any part in it. In the same year the high-minded archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham, died, and in his place was called Thomas Cranmer, a scholar and theologian of Cambridge, and a churchman likely to be useful to the king.

[1] Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, pp. 291–292, 314; Gairdner, *A History of the English Church*, Vol. IV, pp. 100–101; Kendall, No. 46.

[2] Gee and Hardy, No. XLVIII.

181. The Separation from Rome.—Henry had already prepared the way for the break with Rome by persuading parliament, summoned as his willing tool in 1532, to abolish the payment to the pope[1] of *annates*, or first year's revenues from ecclesiastical offices. As the pope refused to be moved even by this cutting off of a source of his wealth, parliament passed another act in 1533, forbidding all appeals to Rome from the archbishop's court in England.[2] Then Henry, without waiting longer to hear from the pope, cut the knot of controversy by marrying Anne Boleyn, late in 1532 or early in 1533,[3] and bade Cranmer, the new archbishop, try the case in his archiepiscopal court. The court, as was to be expected, declared Henry's former marriage illegal, and immediately Anne Boleyn was proclaimed queen. In September, 1533, Anne gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth, whom parliament the next year declared heir to the throne.[4]

In the meantime Pope Clement had decided in favor of Catherine, and was threatening the king with excommunication if he did not take her back as queen. Thus the issue was sharply drawn. Up to this point Henry had possibly hoped for a favorable decision from Rome, but thenceforth that was not to be expected. He therefore proceeded to destroy the authority of the pope in England by taking to himself all the powers that the pope had hitherto exercised, and by removing the English church from under the jurisdiction of Rome. In 1534 parliament passed a general act confirming what had already been done, placing the clergy entirely at the will of the king and abolishing appeals to Rome.[5] Then it unconditionally repressed *annates* and placed the nomination of archbishops and bishops entirely in the king's hands (*congé d'elire*).[6] Then, declaring that no one except king and parliament could alter

[1] Gee and Hardy, No. XLIX; Adams and Stephens, No. 144; Lee, No. 107.

[2] Gee and Hardy, No. L; Adams and Stephens, No. 145; Lee, No. 108.

[3] The date is uncertain, either November 14, 1532, or January 25, 1533 Both Gairdner and Fisher, the latest authorities, adhere to the latter.

[4] Adams and Stephens, No. 147; Gee and Hardy, No. LIV.

[5] Gee and Hardy, No. LI; Lee, No. 110.

[6] Gee and Hardy, No. LII; Adams and Stephens, No. 146.

the laws of the kingdom, it transferred all dispensation to the archbishop of Canterbury, and forbade the payment of Peter's pence to the pope.[1] And finally it declared that the king, his heirs and successors, should "be accepted and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the church of England," and that they should have "full power and authority to repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, . . . any usage, custom, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding." This was the famous act of supremacy,[2] and it is to be noted that in all the acts the pope was invariably styled the Bishop of Rome, and deemed to have no more authority in England than any other bishop. The separation from Rome was complete.

182. Persecution of 1535 and 1536: Execution of Anne Boleyn.— In the main these acts were received without serious protests in England, although as far as the mass of the people were concerned, there had taken place no change in their religious faith. But there were many who spoke their minds, and against all those Henry and Cromwell proceeded without mercy.[3] Houses of the Carthusian friars, who had been especially blunt in their comments on the king's marriage, were repressed, and ten of the monks of Charterhouse were hanged. Next, Sir Thomas More, finest of all the heroes of the time, and the noble John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, were summoned before a court at Lambeth, the archbishop's palace in London. On refusing to declare the marriage with Catherine illegal and the Princess Mary illegitimate, they were thrown into prison, and in 1535 were executed and their heads fastened on London bridge.[4] On April 20, 1534, Elizabeth Barton, a peasant woman, dubbed the "Holy Maid of Kent," who had led a movement in favor

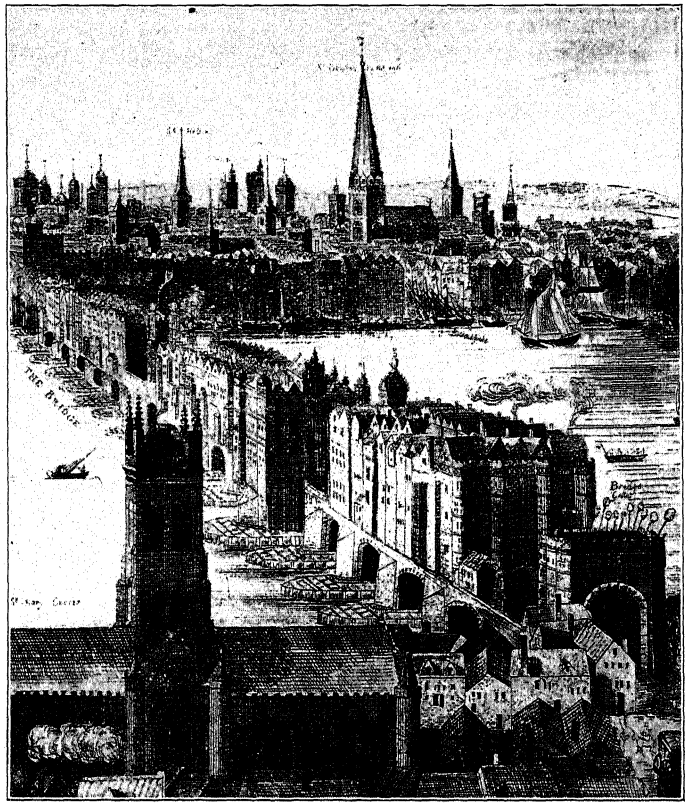
[1] Gee and Hardy, No. LIII.

[2] Gee and Hardy, No. LV; Adams and Stephens, No. 148; Lee, No. 111; *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 1 (Cheyney), p. 17. See also Colby, No. 56.

[3] Lee, No. 109.

[4] Kendall, No. 47.

of Queen Catherine, was executed at Tyburn, together with certain monks who had aided her.



OLD LONDON BRIDGE.

Begun 1176, completed 1207. Associated with some of the most famous events in English history. The gateway where heads were exposed is at the right of the picture. All the buildings were removed in 1757. The new London bridge was begun in 1824 and completed in 1831.

But even greater savagery was to be shown the next year (1536). Henry was confronted by many dangers. Ireland was in revolt, the northern counties were ready to rise against

the king, the pope had prepared a bull of deposition, the execution of which he placed in the hands of Charles V, who had recently won a notable victory over the pirates in the Mediterranean. But at this juncture Catherine died; the emperor had no good excuse for an attack on England, and the bull was never sent. Henry now showed his baseness. Disappointed in his hope of a male heir, for Anne's only child was a daughter, he charged the queen with unfaithfulness and conspiracy. After a brutal and revolting trial, during which the king continued his revellings, Anne was convicted and beheaded. The very next day the king married Jane Seymour, destined to be the mother of Edward VI. Cranmer declared the marriage with Anne illegal and the Princess Elizabeth illegitimate; and the servile parliament passed a new act settling the succession upon the heirs of the new queen.

In the meantime Henry was showing his masterful nature in other directions also. He was beginning to concern himself with the dogma and discipline of the church and to attack the monasteries. In 1533 John Frith had been burned for denying the doctrines of transubstantiation, and during the following years others also were condemned. In 1536, with the consent of convocation, Henry sent out the Ten Articles, which were a kind of compromise creed; through Cromwell he commissioned Miles Coverdale to translate the New Testament; and having despatched commissioners the year before to inquire into the condition of the monasteries, he began to confiscate their property.

183. The Pilgrimage of Grace. — These acts roused the nobles of the north and led to a very remarkable uprising that had noteworthy consequences. The Pilgrimage of Grace was at bottom a revolution of the northern counties, where a spirit of independence and a devotion to the old forms and ceremonies still existed, and where rugged border methods still prevailed. The nobles of the north hated the low-born "varlet," Cromwell; the middle classes there were aroused by the acts of parliament and by the attack on the monasteries; the common people greeted sullenly the economic changes result-

ing from the enclosing of lands; while all in those northern regions resented the religious innovations of the south. In October the men of Lincolnshire rose, led by several hundred vicars and priests bearing a banner upon which was a plough, a chalice and host, the five wounds of Christ, and a horn. But this revolt broke down through internal dissensions. Later in the month, under Robert Aske, a more formidable uprising took place in Yorkshire. The duke of Norfolk compromised with the rebels, promising pardon and a redress of grievances. But new revolts, in February, 1537, gave the king, who never intended to keep his promises, the opportunity of wreaking a ferocious vengeance. "You must cause such dreadful executions upon a good number of the inhabitants," he wrote to Norfolk, "hanging them on trees, quartering them, and setting their heads and quarters in every town, as shall be a fearful warning." Seventy-four were executed, including Aske, Lord Darcy, and all the abbots of the greatest monastic establishments of the north.

The importance of this event lies not only in its effect on the supporters of the papacy, but in the fact that it prepared the way for the final incorporation of these counties — Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, and York — into England. Henry II had prevented them from becoming a part of Scotland, but since his time they had been outside the regular administration, and under the control of special officers and councils. They had remained a lawless frontier, where feudal barons were privileged and powerful, and depredations and petty wars were of frequent occurrence. Henry VIII, though he had put down this dangerous rebellion, did not himself incorporate the counties, but made permanent and powerful the special council system that had prevailed there for a century. This council, which he reorganized as the Council of the North, and to which he gave extensive powers, had jurisdiction until its abolition in 1641.[1]

[1] See a very suggestive article, "The Problem of the North," by Lapsley, in *American Historical Review*, April, 1900, pp. 462–463; also the account of

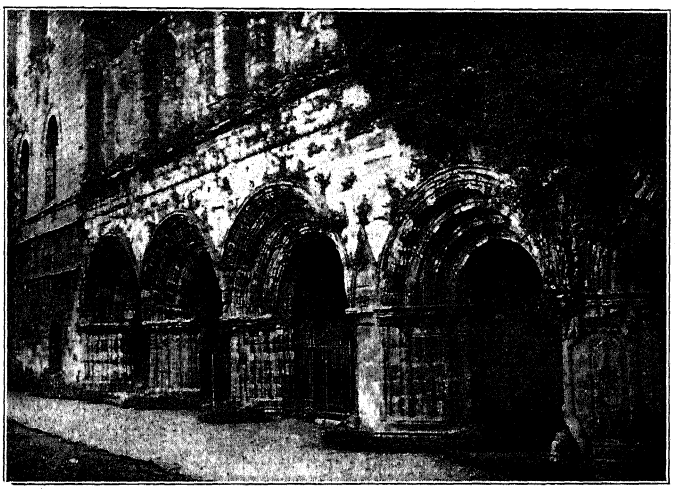
184. Dissolution of the Monasteries. — Though the rebellion in the north for the moment checked Henry's attacks on the monasteries, it probably in the end rendered the suppression of them more complete. As early as 1534 Cromwell had begun to break up the houses of the friars, declaring that they were centres of hostility to the king. The next year Houghton, prior of Charterhouse in London, was hanged with others, at Tyburn, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, and in 1539 Charterhouse itself was broken up.

These acts were merely preliminary to a general attack on the monasteries, which had already been planned. They were charged with being useless organizations, centres of idleness and corruption, of licentious and frivolous life; but the evidence is far from sufficient to prove a condition worse than had been the case two centuries before. Archbishop Warham had made an investigation in 1511 and had found practically no evidence of immorality. Useless they may have been, and in decay they undoubtedly were. But these were not the reasons influencing Cromwell and the king. The monasteries possessed immense estates of land, the result of ancient gifts. These gifts had, however, greatly fallen off in the preceding century owing to diversion of benefactions to hospitals and universities, and many of the monasteries had become impoverished. In the south the people hated the monastic organizations; though in the north, as we have already seen, they still deemed them, as they doubtless were, centres of refuge and charity.

No one can pretend that Cromwell's "visitation" of 1535,

the Pilgrimage in *Social England*, Vol. II, pp. 21–25; and for a series of interesting documents, the *English Historical Review*, 1890, pp. 331–352; Lee, Nos. 117, 118. Dr. Lapsley contends that too little attention has been paid hitherto to the part played by these northern provinces in English history. I will go further and say that too much attention has been paid to Irish history before the era of the Tudors, Stuarts, and Cromwell, and that the space devoted to that subject in the majority of the smaller histories might better have been used in working out more fully the influence of the borderland. See an essay by Creighton, "The Northumbrian Border," in his *Historical Essays and Reviews* (1902).

conducted by unsympathetic and harsh men, was either thorough or just. Whatever the results of such an investigation might be, the monasteries were doomed beforehand. Their wealth was their destruction. In 1536 parliament passed an act dissolving the smaller monasteries with an income of less than £200, and turned them over to the king to do with as he pleased; and at the same time it erected a special court, the



RUINS OF FURNESS ABBEY.

A Cistercian abbey in Lancashire. The arches are Norman and their solidity and strength show the half military character of the abbey, due to its location.

"court of the augmentation of the revenues of the king's crown," to manage the new lands and revenues.[1] By this act three hundred and seventy-six houses were dissolved, two thousand monks and nuns dispossessed, and all together ten thousand people turned out of homes or employment.

Cromwell next faced the problem of breaking up the larger

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 150; Gee and Hardy, No. LXI; Lee, No. 113 Note also Lee, Nos. 114–117.

monasteries. The Pilgrimage of Grace aided his cause, for Henry used it as a pretext for harsh measures. In 1538 the friaries were destroyed, and during the year that followed such pressure was brought to bear on the larger monastic houses that one hundred and fifty of them surrendered.[1] Parliament, by an act of approval, gave them to the king. In 1540, one hundred more were seized and dismantled. In the course of



RUINS OF FOUNTAINS ABBEY.

One of the most famous of the ruined abbeys of Yorkshire. It belonged to the Cistercian order and was under the patronage of the Percys. Surrendered 1540.

the attack many priors and abbots, refusing to accept the king's terms, were executed; while all together it is estimated that eight thousand religious persons were driven out and eighty thousand others deprived of their means of support.[2]

[1] Lee, No. 114.

[2] Gasquet in *Social England*, Vol. III, p. 64. See also the same author's *Henry VIII and the Suppression of the Monasteries*, and Gairdner in *A History of the English Church*, Vol. IV, chaps. IX, XI; Adams and Stephens, No. 153; Gee and Hardy, No. LXIV; Colby, No. 57.

Though most of the lands were given away as bribes to favorites and others whom the king wished to bind to himself, something like $75,000,000 (modern value) accrued to the king from lands, plate, and other spoils. Forty thousand families are said to have profited by these gifts, and upon these foundations a new nobility arose, whose interest it was to support the king's policy.

185. Henry's Attitude toward Superstitions and Dogma. — But Henry did not stop here. Cromwell set on foot an attack on images, relics, and shrines, and practically abolished the privileges of sanctuary. There is no doubt that these fostered superstition and credulousness among the people and increased that power of the priests and monks which Henry VIII particularly wished to destroy. But the king had no intention of encouraging the teachings of Protestantism, for he never forgot that he was the "Defender of the Faith." He had already caused John Frith and John Lambert to be burned, and had publicly declared that he would not be a "patron of heretics." In June, 1539, parliament passed the Six Articles Act, called by the reformers "the whip with six strings," which Henry himself is supposed to have written.[1] This act upheld transubstantiation, declared that communion in both kinds[2] was not necessary for salvation, that priests were not to marry, that vows of chastity must be observed, that private masses must be continued, and lastly that auricular confession was expedient and necessary. All who denied the first article were to suffer death; and in the decade that followed, some thirty persons came under this decree. Most famous of all was Anne Askew, a gentlewoman of rank, who was burnt for saying that "the bread cannot be God."

186. Fall of Cromwell. — Valuable as Cromwell had been to the king, he failed to please his master in two particulars:

[1] Gee and Hardy, No. LXV; Adams and Stephens, No. 154; Lee, No. 119.

[2] The rule of the church had been that in the communion service the priest alone should partake of the wine and that both priest and people should partake of the bread.

first, he inclined toward Protestantism, which Henry did not like; and secondly, he was not successful as a foreign minister. The strained relation which had existed for ten years between Henry and Charles V had strengthened the alliance with France. Now Cromwell wished to go farther and enter into combination with the German Protestant princes of the Schmalkald League, who were hostile to the emperor. To that end he arranged a marriage between Henry, whose third wife, Jane Seymour, had died when Edward VI was born, and Anne of Cleves, daughter of the duke whose territory controlled the river Rhine. Henry consented, but the plan turned out badly. Anne was lacking in all that renders a woman attractive, and she did not please the king, who promptly got rid of her on the ground that the marriage had been "extorted under compulsion by external causes." Anne took the divorce philosophically and settled down in England with a liberal pension.

Henry, without a wife, soon found himself without allies. In 1539–1540 Francis made his peace with the pope, and through the mediation of the latter was reconciled temporarily with Charles V; while in Germany many members of the Protestant league were openly advocating peace with the emperor. Henry seemed to have failed everywhere, and he took his revenge on Cromwell. In 1540 this loyal servant was abandoned by the king; and the nobility, who hated him, wreaked their vengeance upon him. He was beheaded on July 28, and from that time to his own death Henry reigned without a minister.

187. Wars with France and Scotland. — From the year 1539–1540, when Francis committed himself to the cause of the pope, war between England and France was inevitable. The traditional hostility, now made more bitter by the religious rivalry, — for Francis supported the pope while Henry opposed him, — was increased by the desire of each monarch to add Scotland to his dominions. Henry VII had tried to effect a union of Scotland with England when he brought about the marriage of his daughter Margaret to James IV in 1502. But since that time France had been working to thwart Henry's

policy, and through the efforts of Bishop Beaton of St. Andrews had brought about a marriage between James V and Mary, daughter of the duke of Guise, the most determined enemy of the reform movement in France. In the war that followed Henry was in the main successful. James V was badly beaten at Solway Moss in 1542, and the influence of England in Scotland seemed reëstablished. A treaty of marriage was arranged between Henry's son, Edward, and Mary Queen of Scots, the daughter of James V, born the year of Solway Moss.

The peace did not last long. In 1543 the French party in Scotland again got the upper hand, and Henry again declared war. Hertford burned Edinburgh in 1544, and in the same year, across the Channel, Henry captured Boulogne from the French. A peace was patched up with Francis, in 1546, in which Scotland was not included; but as both Henry and Francis died the next year, the settlement of the question was only deferred, to come up again in the next reign.

188. Relations with Wales and Ireland. — Although Henry was not successful in his efforts to subdue Scotland, he succeeded in consolidating his kingdom in other directions, thus increasing its extent and making it more powerful. He had subdued the northern counties in 1539, after the Pilgrimage of Grace, and in 1536 had added Wales, increasing the number of shires and admitting members from Wales into parliament. In the matter of administration and law he treated Wales as he had the north, establishing in 1542 a special council, the Council of Wales, similar to the Council of the North.

Ireland gave him a great deal of trouble, for the chiefs there were constantly at war, and were always ready to help France or Scotland whenever the occasion arose. In 1542, after a rebellion of the Fitzgeralds, Henry raised Ireland to the rank of a kingdom; but though he increased his own dignity by this act, he cannot be said to have brought the island much nearer to a union with the English crown.

189. The Revenues and the Coinage. — In his campaigns in Scotland and in his attempts to subdue Ireland, Henry had

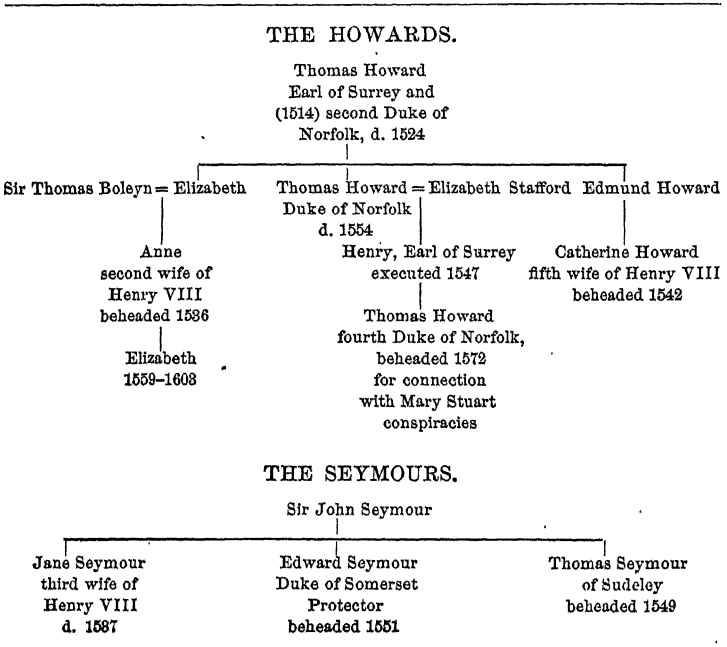
been constantly embarrassed for want of money. He had been extravagant, but his extravagance was not the only cause for the scarcity of money. The truth is, the royal revenues had declined. With the growth of trade the returns from land had grown less, for the subsidies, — fifteenths and tenths, — levied after the ancient fashion, had not increased with the wealth of the kingdom, and Henry VIII and the sovereigns that followed him did not, in reality, receive a revenue at all proportionate to the actual taxing power of the nation, and had to resort to exceptional and illegal methods of raising money.

Henry, in desperation, began to tamper with the coinage, first, by mixing more and more alloy with the gold and silver, and later, by reducing the size of the coin. Silver coins were debased more than the gold, and, consequently, gold was exported to the Continent, until, by the end of Henry's reign, scarcely any gold coins remained in England. The effects of this debasing of the coinage were very disastrous. Prices rose rapidly in England, to the disadvantage of the landowning and agricultural classes, and commerce was injured, because foreigners would not take English coins. This blind and criminal policy caused great distress among the laboring classes, and beggary and robbery increased.

190. Henry's Influence. — Henry VIII died in 1547, leaving his throne by will to his son Edward, who was to be succeeded in turn by his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth. Henry was a king who accomplished much for England, for he supplemented the work of his father by raising the kingdom to a position of international importance, and by striking down the last of the old nobility and giving power into the hands of new men who came from the middle classes. Then, too, he was "the majestic lord who broke the bonds of Rome." But the results of his work were beneficial only in the future; the immediate consequences of his reign were disastrous. At home he had alienated the English people, emptied the royal treasury, neglected the welfare of the great mass of his subjects, and encouraged bribery and corruption among officials and min-

isters. Abroad he had broken with almost every ally. The pope, Francis, and Charles V were hostile to him, and conspiracies were fomenting in Ireland, Scotland, and on the Continent. The favorable conditions that had accompanied his accession to the throne no longer existed when, in 1547, he passed on the government of the kingdom to his son, a boy but ten years of age.

191. The Howards and the Seymours. — The man who wielded the unlimited power of Henry VIII was not to be the young Edward VI, but his uncle, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, later known as the duke of Somerset. During Henry's last years a rivalry had sprung up between two families, the Seymours and the Howards. The former had been brought into prominence by the marriage of Henry with Jane Seymour, who had been lady-in-waiting to Catherine of Aragon



and her successor, Anne Boleyn. Edward Seymour was Jane Seymour's brother, and after the birth of Edward VI he had been created earl of Hertford; while another brother, Thomas Seymour, had taken an important part in Henry's wars. The best known representative of the Howards was Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, uncle of Anne Boleyn and of Catherine Howard, the king's fifth wife. Thomas's son was Henry, Earl of Surrey, known in literature as a poet. Both families were, therefore, connected with the king by marriage, and both were rivals for the king's favor. The Howards were of the more honorable lineage, leaders of the old nobility, and upholders of the old faith; the Seymours were newer men, and friends of the reform movement.

In the struggle that followed between the two families, victory lay eventually with the Seymours. They were the uncles of the king's only son, and had found favor with Catherine Parr, the king's last wife, who was half a Protestant. The Howards, on the other hand, had been unlucky. Both their nieces, Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, wives of Henry VIII, had been executed.[1] In 1546 Surrey had been convicted of treason and sent to the block; and Norfolk also would have been beheaded but for the king's death in 1547. The fall of the Howards cleared the way for the ascendency of the Seymours.

192. The First Period of the Reign of Edward VI (1547–1549): the Protector Somerset. — Henry had made a will, sanctioned by act of parliament,[2] establishing a body of executors, of whom Edward Seymour was the chief, to govern during the minority of the young Edward. This arrangement was set aside by the executors themselves, who chose Seymour to act as protector of England and governor of the king's person. Seymour, already earl of Hertford, was then created duke of Somerset.

[1] For the attainder of Queen Catherine, see Adams and Stephens, No. 155.

[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 157.

As compared with Henry VIII, the Protector was a moderate and conciliatory statesman, who honestly desired to bring peace to the kingdom that had been excited and stirred by Henry's excesses. He refused to continue Henry's persecutions for heresy and treason,[1] and made few changes in the ecclesiastical organization. In matters of doctrine he seems to have been equally tolerant. The First Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI recognized the doctrine of transubstantiation, allowed prayers for the dead, authorized auricular confession, and made obligatory the practice of fasting during Lent.



EDWARD VI.

From a Braun photograph, after painting by Hans Holbein, in the collection of Sir William Farrar.

In constitutional and social matters Somerset was no less liberal. He believed in the full recognition of the powers of parliament and refused to interfere in elections. He allowed freedom of speech and debate, and it is significant that the journals of the lower house begin with his period of government. As we shall see, he favored the cause of the people against the wealthy and parvenu landlords. There can be no doubt that he was ambitious and eager for popularity, and was often avaricious and arbitrary; but relatively these were minor faults.

Somerset has been charged with incompetency because

[1] Pollard, *England under Protector Somerset*, p. 121. "During his reign there was not a single execution for any kind of religious opinion, and the severest penalties that he tolerated were the bearing of faggots by Anabaptists and the temporary imprisonment of two bishops for refusing to acknowledge the authority of his government."

he failed in nearly every one of his undertakings. Such a charge does not take into account the difficulties that confronted him, or the fact that the age was one of persecution and not of moderation. Henry VIII left a legacy of problems relating to foreign, religious, financial, and social matters, many of which could be solved by time alone. Probably no man in so short a time could have done anything but fail.

193. Religious Changes. — In two sets of instructions, issued in 1536 and 1538, Henry VIII had sought to regulate the religious practices of the people.[1] In 1547 Somerset carried out these injunctions[2] and began a general visitation of the kingdom for the purpose of remedying abuses. His agents, aided by some of the radical reformers, performed their task with ruthless completeness and a lack of reverence that exasperated the people and drove them to reprisals and insurrections. Images were torn down, stained glass windows were broken, and many carvings and works of art were ruined.

Of equal importance were other measures authorized partly by decrees and partly by acts of parliament. The use of ashes, palms, and candles on Candlemas Day, and of holy bread and holy water, was forbidden. The First Book of Common Prayer, compiled in English by Cranmer, was introduced, and Latin was abolished. Parliament, in 1547, swept away the treason and heresy laws, abolished the Six Articles, ordained the giving of the wine to the laity in the sacrament, and suppressed all chantries, gilds, and fraternities of a religious character.[3] In 1548 parliament passed one act allowing priests to marry,[4] and another imposing penalties on priests who refused to

[1] Gee and Hardy, Nos. LXII, LXIII.

[2] Colby, No. 58; Lee, No. 122; Kendall, No. 49.

[3] Gee and Hardy, No. LXVIII; Adams and Stephens, No. 159. The statement commonly made that Edward VI founded schools out of the Chantry funds has been critically examined in recent years and shown in large part not to be true. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*; Pollard, *England under Protector Somerset*, pp. 121–129; Gairdner, *A History of the English Church*, Vol. IV, pp. 314–315.

[4] Gee and Hardy, No. LXX.

use the Book of Common Prayer or spoke against it.[1] Here again the correction of abuses was too often accompanied with a disregard for the customs and traditions of the people.

194. Social Discontent: Kett's Rebellion. — It is commonly said that these innovations roused the people of England to revolt in 1548 and 1549. To a certain extent this is true, particularly in Devon and Cornwall.[2] Worshippers familiar with the Latin forms and the time-honored practices resented the destruction of images and the introduction of the English prayer book.

But the real reasons for the rebellions lay deeper than this, and were of an economic and not a religious character.[3] Since the accession of Henry VII, the enclosure movement, which we have already noticed, had taken on a new form. While the old manorial system was breaking down and trade was growing, thousands of acres were passing out of the hands of the old nobility into the hands of newer men, merchants and members of the new nobility, who were getting profit out of them, without regard to the condition of the people upon them. The old manorial lords were giving place to a class of landlords, who racked the tenantry, evicted those who failed to pay their rents, enlarged their estates by buying up new lands, and enclosed the commons and arable fields without any consideration for those who tilled the soil for a living.[4] In consequence rents rose, prices trebled, and misery increased.

Wolsey and Sir Thomas More had seen the evils wrought by the new landlords and had sought to remedy them. In 1517 they had sent out a famous commission to inquire into the

[1] Gee and Hardy, No. LXIX; Adams and Stephens, No. 160; Lee, No. 123.

[2] "Cornishmen had violently opposed the Reformation, mainly because they could not endure to have their services read and their Bible printed in English, to them a jargon more unintelligible than the Latin they had been wont to hear from childhood." Eggleston, *Transit of Civilization*, pp. 95, 96.

[3] Pollard, *England under Protector Somerset*, Chap. VIII; Cheyney, *Social Changes*, pp. 97–100; Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, Pocock ed., Vol. II, pp. 207–216; Kendall, Nos. 62, 63.

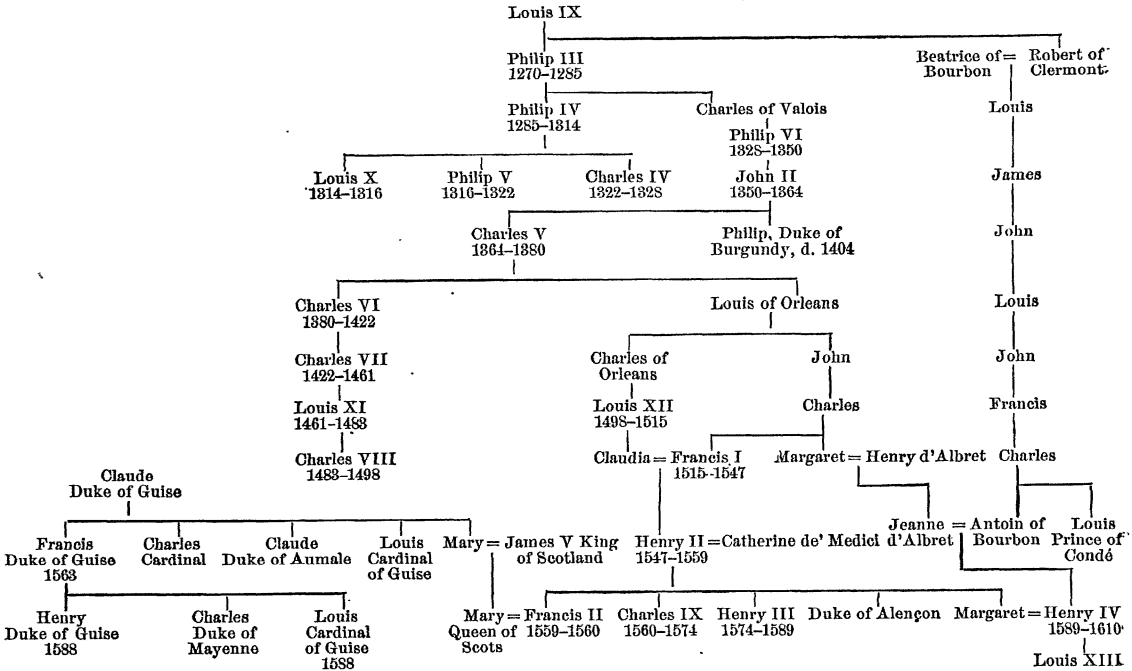
[4] Kendall, No. 64.

enclosing of lands and to seek means for its prevention. But after Wolsey's death Henry VIII had taken no interest in the matter, and by his distribution of the monastic lands had only made the trouble worse. Somerset was fully alive to the evils, and was urged to act, not only by an insurrection in Hertfordshire in 1547, but by the persuasions of a small party of reformers led by Bishop Latimer and John Hales. In 1548, following the example set by Wolsey, he sent out a commission to investigate the question of enclosures and the possible restoration of agriculture. For the same purpose he endeavored to carry acts through parliament; but he was opposed by the wealthy landowners, and nearly every measure failed because the leaders of that body were themselves enclosers and thwarted Somerset's plans.

After the failure of parliament to act, the popular discontent, which had been long smouldering, became active. Starting in Somersetshire, the rebellion spread through the southern and western counties. Hedges and palings were torn down, ditches filled up, and parks and commons laid open. Kett, a blacksmith of Norfolk, with many followers, seized Norwich and established a "commonwealth." But the insurrection was put down with great severity, and Kett was hanged. The gentry were still too strong for the commoners.

195. The Scottish Campaign. — The opposition to Somerset in the council, due to his defence of the popular cause, was increased by the results of his dealings with France and Scotland. The peace made with France in 1546 not only did not include Scotland, but proved of little binding force upon France after the death of Francis I and the accession of Henry II, in March, 1547. The latter renewed the attempt to make Scotland a French province, and though nominally at peace with England, aided the Scots in their struggle with the English government. Henry II desired Scotland for the consolidation and enlargement of his kingdom; the Catholic party, of which the Guises were the leaders, wanted the land

ROYAL HOUSES OF FRANCE (CAPETIAN, VALOIS, VALOIS-ORLEANS, BOURBON) AND THE HOUSE OF GUISE.



in order to save it for the old faith, and to prevent it from going over to Protestantism. Mary of Guise had married James V of Scotland, and was working in Edinburgh to aid the French cause. During 1547 the influence of the French party increased, and the plan of marrying Princess Mary of Scotland to a French prince was again discussed. This scheme Somerset sought to prevent, and, in defence of the marriage agreement of 1543, according to which Princess Mary was to marry Edward VI, began an invasion of Scotland in September, 1547. A battle was fought at Pinkie, on the river Esk, in which the English were victorious. Further successes during the remaining months of the year encouraged Somerset to hope that Scotland might be won both for Protestantism and for England.

Somerset's plan did not succeed. France, in June, 1548, sent a force of men, ships, and a supply of gold; and a month later Mary of Scots set sail for France, her betrothal to the Dauphin (afterward Francis II) taking place in October. Somerset, involved in insurrections and financial difficulties at home, was unable to continue the campaign, and Scotland having fallen into the hands of the Catholics was, for the time being, lost to England. At the very time when Kett was making most trouble in Norfolk, France declared war, and began an attack on Boulogne. England, surrounded by a circle of Catholic and hostile states, was menaced at the same time by France, Ireland, and Scotland.

196. Fall of Somerset. — Somerset was doomed; his policy had not succeeded, and his enemies in the council determined to depose him. They charged him with a rash invasion of Scotland, with bringing on war with France, and above all, with encouraging social disturbance and insurrection. In general, they charged his government with failure, ignoring the fact that failure had been due, not to Somerset, but to the social troubles in England, for which the members of the council, the leaders in parliament, and the moneyed class generally were very largely responsible. But there were other and more

legitimate charges. Somerset had been arbitrary and overbearing, he had seized church lands, had spent money ostentatiously in erecting Somerset house, and had given offices to personal friends and neglected the friends of his colleagues.

But the real reasons were after all none of these. Somerset fell because he believed in moderation, had faith in constitutional liberty, and had espoused the popular cause against the rich and avaricious landowners. In October, 1549, he was committed to the Tower, and his place, not as protector but as leader in the council, was taken by his chief enemy, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, son of the Dudley who had been baron of the exchequer under Henry VII.

197. The Second Period of the Reign of Edward VI (1549–1553): Warwick's Tyranny.—The second period of the reign of Edward VI now began. The moderation of Somerset gave way to the tyranny of Warwick. "If the Protector had lashed the Catholics with whips, Warwick chastised them with scorpions." The contrast is a striking one, for in nearly every point was Somerset's policy reversed. Warwick got rid of all Romanists from the council. He deposed from their sees bishops of the old faith, such as Bonner and Gardiner, and sent Bishop Tunstall to prison on the pretext of treason. He began a systematic persecution of Princess Mary, deprived her of the privilege of hearing private mass, and forced on her the Book of Common Prayer. With the concurrence of Archbishop Cranmer, he began executions for heresy. Joan Bocher was burnt at the stake in 1550, and in 1551 George van Paris, a Dutch Anabaptist, suffered a like fate. In 1552 a Second Book of Common Prayer was issued, and a second Act of Uniformity passed. The new prayer book was distinctly Protestant in character; the new act of uniformity imposed severe penalties, not only on priests who refused to use the new prayer book, but on people who refused to attend the service.[1] The next year Forty-two

[1] Gee and Hardy, No. LXXI; Adams and Stephens, No. 162.

Articles of Faith were set forth, defining the doctrine of the church.[1]

In political matters Warwick, who had assumed the title duke of Northumberland in 1551, aimed to be supreme. He packed the council with his adherents, and packed parliament by interfering in elections and creating new boroughs. Charging Somerset, who had been pardoned in 1550, with treason, he made every effort to bring about the death of his rival. The treason charge broke down; but Somerset was found guilty on the charge of inciting the citizens of London to meet in unlawful assembly, and was executed, January 22, 1552.

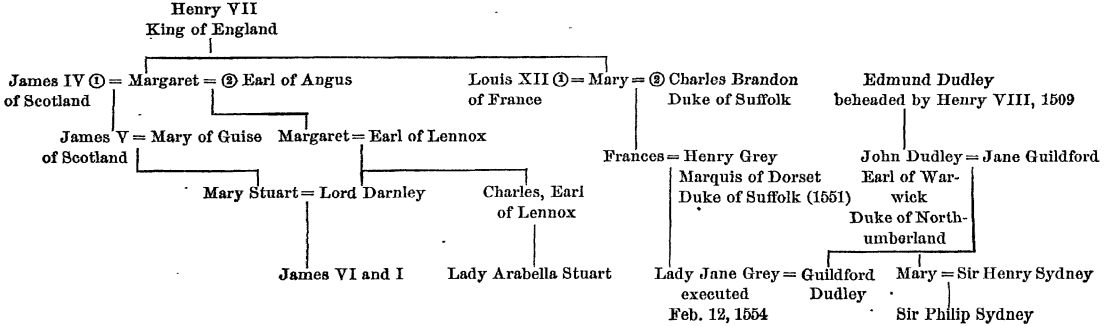
198. Attitude toward Social Troubles. — Just as Northumberland persecuted in the interest of Protestantism and manipulated politics in the interest of his own leadership, so he dealt with the social question in the interest of the landowners. John Hales fled to Germany, and parliament reversed the Protector's policy, dropping the enclosure commission, and passing laws which encouraged, rather than discouraged, enclosures. Northumberland did nothing to alleviate the burdens that distressed the people. By his acts he encouraged bribery, sale of offices, and misuse of funds, and continued the debasement of the currency, which Somerset had forbidden, increasing the alloy, and reducing the value of the shilling coined by Henry VIII (testoon) first to ninepence and afterward to sixpence. The coinage of England reached its lowest point under Edward VI. The miseries of the people were intense.

199. Lady Jane Grey. — Edward VI died on July 6, 1553. By the terms of Henry's will the succession was to go to the Princess Mary; but Northumberland had worked on the young king, persuading him, in the interest of Protestantism, to bequeath the crown to Lady Jane Grey,[2] the wife of his own son,

[1] It has been a debated point whether or not the prayer book and these articles (originally forty-five) were or were not submitted to convocation for ratification. The evidence is against their submission; Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, Vol. III, pp. 513–517. Gasquet, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, supports Dixon's contention. [2] Lee, No. 126. See also Colby, No. 59.

LADY JANE GREY AND THE DUDLEYS.

(*See tables, pp. 216, 234, and 300.*)



Guildford Dudley, and the granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister Mary, who, after the death of Louis XII, had returned to England and married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. By this means, under the pretence of defending Protestantism, Warwick hoped to retain power.

But the plot in favor of Lady Jane Grey failed in every particular. In the first place, Edward's will was invalid, not having been sanctioned by act of parliament; in the second place, England would have no more of Warwick, whether as John Dudley or as the duke of Northumberland. The ill-fated claimant, Lady Jane, who lent herself most unwillingly to the scheme, was proclaimed queen of England three days after Edward's death; but her reign lasted only eleven days. The nation rallied to the support of the rightful heir. Northumberland was seized and executed in 1553, and disclosed the hollowness of his entire support of Protestantism by recanting on the scaffold and declaring that the Protestant cause was a sham. The tide of popular enthusiasm which bore Mary to the throne testified to the hatred which all right-minded men had conceived for the heartless, time-serving policy of this basest and most unscrupulous of English ministers.

§ 10. **General Character of the Age of Mary and Elizabeth.**— The accession of Mary ushered in the inevitable reaction. The reform party in England had been unfortunate both in their leaders and in their methods, and the support which the English gave to Mary's cause was due less to their love for her and the faith she represented than to the hostility they felt for the attempt which had been made to force Protestantism upon England. At the same time they were in large part loyal to the old forms and ceremonies, for habits of centuries cannot be destroyed in one reign by acts of parliament. England would probably have welcomed at this time a moderate reaction. The difficulty with Mary's work was that it was destined to go as far in the other direction as that of Somerset and Northumberland had gone in the direction of reform, and in

consequence, to undo whatever good results a policy of moderation at this time might have effected.

The reasons why the reaction was so extreme are clear. Mary herself was an overzealous devotee of the old faith, and could see no stopping-point short of a complete restoration of the old conditions and a punishment of those responsible for the Protestant changes.[1] At the same time she was acting under the advice of the Emperor Charles V, his son Philip, and the pope, who were straining every nerve to check the growth of Protestantism in Europe. Protestantism was gaining steadily in Germany, in France, and even in southern Europe, and was destined to gain for another fifteen years before the tide was to turn. England, under a Catholic queen, promised to be the first country where a victory for the old faith could be obtained. The struggle was to be long and persistent. On one side were those who wished to make England once more subject to the pope and to limit her national independence by forcing her to become a part of a great ecclesiastical empire; on the other were those who wished to make her a powerful, independent kingdom, in which the church should be subordinate to the state and the wealth and energies of the people be employed for England alone. This conflict, which began with the accession of Queen Mary in 1553, was not ended until the defeat of the Armada in 1588, a period of thirty-five years, during which England passed from danger to security, and from great social and economic distress to a condition of national prosperity. These are years of vital importance in the history of England, for they mark the close of a long period of transition, during which the institutions and ideas of the older time were finally compelled to give way before those of the more modern era.

201. The Catholic Reaction, First Period: Moderation (1553). — Mary came to the throne in 1553, and began immediately to undo the work of the previous reign. She released the bishops

[1] Kendall, No. 50.

and others imprisoned in the Tower, — Gardiner, Courtenay, Norfolk, and others, — sent Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer to prison, and drove others of the Protestant clergy to take refuge on the Continent. With Bishop Gardiner as her ally, she began to restore the old forms and dogmas. She set aside the prayer book of Edward VI, and introduced again the Latin mass. A parliament summoned in October, 1553, was composed of members who had been elected under pressure from the crown, and consequently were ready to sanction all the queen's acts. This body declared Mary legitimate, thus annulling all the acts passed during the reign of Henry VIII affecting the divorce of Catherine of Aragon.[1] It repealed at one stroke nine acts passed under Edward VI, thus restoring the church, its doctrine and service, to the position which it had occupied at the death of Henry VIII.[2]

202. Catholic Reaction, Second Period: The Spanish Marriage (1553–1554). — In these changes the English people readily acquiesced: Probably, thus far, the majority was in very general accord with the policy of the government, and greeted the return to the old forms with satisfaction. Had Mary stopped here, all might have been well; but her own inclination, the advice of Charles V, and the urging of the pope, demanded that the work not only of Edward VI, but also of Henry VIII, be undone, and that England return to the position which she had occupied before the separation from Rome.

But before Mary could carry out the details of her policy, she had to meet the question of her own marriage, and in her decision lay an important test of the situation. Charles V proposed his son as her husband; and Philip, the son, thinking to control England and to gain possession of its revenues, indicated his willingness to marry the queen, although she was ten years his senior. Notwithstanding the fact that parliament asked her to choose an English husband, and not

[1] Lee, No. 129.

[2] Gee and Hardy, No. LXXIII; Adams and Stephens, No. 163.

a foreigner, Mary disregarded its wishes, and dissolved that body as a rebuke for its interference.

Many of the English took the queen's decision as an affront, while others, knowing the character of Philip, feared lest the



QUEEN MARY.

From an engraving by Vertue, based on "a picture in possession of the Rt. Honble. the Earl of Oxford."

marriage should be but a prelude to an entire restoration of the authority of the pope. Insurrections took place in Devonshire and Cornwall, led by Sir Peter Carew; in Coventry, led by the earl of Suffolk; in Kent, led by Sir Thomas

Wyatt. Of these, the last only proved formidable. Wyatt, at the head of fifteen thousand men, advanced on London; but Mary, with true Tudor courage, threw herself on the loyalty of the Londoners, and Wyatt found the city closed against him. He was seized and executed. The uprisings hardened the queen's heart. Feeling the need of securing her throne by putting out of the way all enemies and claimants, she caused not only Wyatt and Suffolk to be executed, but also Lady Jane Grey and her husband, Guildford Dudley.[1] The era of mercy and moderation was past; Elizabeth herself was saved from the block only because the queen and the Catholic party dared not put her to death.

In 1554 Mary married Philip,[2] and after the marriage, summoned a new and more subservient parliament, in order to complete the work of reaction. This body forbade the marriage of priests, revived the acts punishing heretics,[3] and then, in one great act of repeal, abolished eighteen statutes of Henry VIII, thus restoring the church, its form and worship, to the position it had occupied at the accession of Henry VIII.[4] It also authorized entire submission to Rome, but stubbornly refused to restore the lands which had been taken from the monasteries and abbeys.[5] The pope, Julius III, glad of the return of England to the fold of the church, waived the matter of the church lands, and sent Cardinal Pole as papal legate to England. It was perhaps the happiest day of Mary's life when she and Philip, and both houses of parliament, knelt before the legate, and received from him absolution and a complete restoration "to the communion of the holy church."

203. Catholic Reaction, Third Period: Persecutions (1554–1558). — The year 1554 marks the height of the reaction so far as the outward act of submission was concerned. Yet in real-

[1] Lee, No. 127.
[2] For the marriage contract, see Adams and Stephens, No. 164.
[3] Gee and Hardy, No. LXXV; Adams and Stephens, No. 165.
[4] Gee and Hardy, No. LXXVI; Adams and Stephens, No. 166.
[5] Lee, No. 130.

ity the reaction was far from complete. The lands were not restored, parliament refused to revive the payment of annates, and the statutes of *præmunire* remained in force as before. Furthermore, the effects of the work of Henry VIII and Edward VI could not be destroyed by acts of parliament or by words of submission. The temper of the English people was seen when in 1555 Mary and chancellor Gardiner began the work of persecution for heresy. First John Rogers was sent to the stake (February, 1555) for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation; then Bishop Hooper; and finally, in November, Latimer and Ridley were burnt at Oxford.[1] The next year Cranmer, whom Mary especially hated because he had sanctioned the divorce of her mother from Henry VIII, suffered a like fate. The majority of the executions were in Kent, in the neighborhood of the archbishopric of Canterbury, and it is estimated that in all nearly three hundred persons were put to death.

The effect of this cruel policy was exactly the reverse of what Mary had intended it should be. The mass of the people, admiring the courage of the martyrs, viewed the persecution with increasing horror. Thousands who had been loyal to the old faith were driven into a position of hostility to the government and the Roman party, and gradually southern England became Protestant.

204. Relations with France: the Loss of Calais. — The discontent thus aroused found outward expression not in England, where men had resolved to wait for Mary's death, but in France, where a body of exiles had been conspiring for several years against Philip and Mary. Mary claimed that Henry II, the king of France, was aiding the conspirators with men and money, and undoubtedly exaggerated the danger from them in order that she might have a pretext for putting to death such of them as fell into her hands. She caused Sir Thomas Uvedale, governor of the Isle of Wight, to be executed in 1556,

[1] Lee, Nos. 131, 132.

and the next year sent to the scaffold Thomas Stafford, a relative of the royal family and a claimant of the throne, who had foolishly seized Scarborough Castle.

But the most disastrous outcome of these intrigues was the war that England entered into with France in 1557. Charles V of Germany had been warring with France for thirty years, and though he had abdicated his throne in 1556, he still continued to urge his son Philip, now king of Spain, to prevail upon Mary to join the alliance. Hitherto Mary had not been able to accede to her husband's request on account of the resistance at home and the terms of her marriage contract.[1] But the Stafford conspiracy gave Philip his opportunity, and in 1557 Mary declared war. The one great result of this war was the capture of Calais, which was seized by the duke of Guise in the winter of 1557 and 1558.[2] The loss of this town came as a terrible shock to the English and enormously increased Mary's unpopularity. In a military sense Calais was regarded as of vital importance to England in guarding her from invasion. In a commercial sense it was deemed the key to the Continental trade, because it was the staple town through which all English goods had to pass to reach the markets of the Continent. Little wonder that when it fell men foresaw military and commercial ruin for England; and that Mary, in horror, cried that after her death Calais would be found graven on her heart.

In fact, however, the loss of Calais was a gain to England. It severed the last connection of the island kingdom with the Continent, and compelled Englishmen to give up plans of conquest in France and of political interference in foreign affairs. It rendered an army less important than a navy, and forced England to depend more and more upon her ships and her sailors. It completed the downfall of the Merchant Staplers, and gave a new impetus to the Merchant Adventurers, who were

[1] Adams and Stephens, p. 287, lines 4–10; Gairdner, pp. 383–384.
[2] Colby, No. 60.

already trading in all parts of the world and cared no more for Calais than for any other Continental town. With the loss of Calais, England was thrown back upon her own resources; and how splendidly she employed those resources in developing a navy, a native commerce, and a colonial empire, the history of the ensuing century will show.

205. Accession of Elizabeth. — Mary's last days were full of misery. Deserted by her husband, deprived of the advice of her best ally, Cardinal Pole, who had been removed by the pope for heresy,[1] hated by her people, aware that her policy had failed, and that Elizabeth, who was to succeed her, would pursue a course different from her own, she nevertheless faced death with true Tudor courage. On November 17, 1558, the end came. Parliament, sitting at the time, immediately proclaimed Elizabeth queen, and the people of London, with demonstrations of joy, welcomed her to the throne. But the real test of the situation lay not in the expressions of loyalty that greeted her accession, for Englishmen in their hatred of Northumberland had welcomed Mary with equal enthusiasm, but in the support which the people would give to her policy. Should Elizabeth make herself the head of a party only, as Mary had done, and fail to recognize the needs of the nation as a whole, she would become as unpopular as her sister had been.

206. The Difficulties of Elizabeth's Position abroad.—Elizabeth came to the throne at a critical time, not only in the history of England, but of Europe also. The Reformation had thrown all the states of central and western Europe into great religious and political disorder. The great mediæval church, hitherto the sole religious authority in western Europe, was threatened with dismemberment. Luther had started the revolt in Germany. Zwingle had stirred up the people living in the valley cantons of Switzerland. Calvin had written the *Institutes of*

[1] On the pope's ill treatment of Pole and the reasons therefor, see Gairdner, pp. 282–386.



ELIZABETH.

From a photograph after a painting by F. Zucharo.

Christianity, and had set up a model Christian government at Geneva, and in so doing had given to the Protestants a creed and an organization. The teachings of Calvin were to be of greater influence than those of either Luther or Zwingle. They were to penetrate western Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands, France, Scotland, England, and America, and were to inspire resistance to the authority of kings as well as of the pope.

To meet the growing heresy, the Roman church was compelled to rid itself of those evils and abuses which had in part led to the Protestant revolution. Such a reform had been begun a century before, but had moved very slowly. In 1545 a council had been summoned, which, after many postponements, finally completed its work in the Tyrolese city of Trent, in 1563. The Council of Trent gave new strength to the Roman church. In 1540 Ignatius Loyola founded the Society of Jesus, or the Jesuits, and created a body of zealous and devoted men who were to work for the recovery of the lands that had gone over to the Protestants. From 1560 to 1648 the Roman church made a determined effort to establish once more its authority and control in Europe.[1]

The pope, the Guises in France, and Philip II of Spain were the leaders of this mighty struggle. They labored for forty years to check the increase of the Protestants and to obtain political control of kingdoms that had fallen into Protestant hands. For forty years Elizabeth, who at the very outset of her reign disclosed her Protestant sympathies, was under assault, at one time or another, from Rome, France, Spain, Scotland, and Ireland. The pope excommunicated and deposed her; the Jesuits sent disguised priests into the land; Englishmen more loyal to the old faith than to their country formed conspiracies against her; Catholic rulers, working from the Netherlands, Scotland, Ireland, and Brittany, plotted to gain

[1] The best history of the Reformation, in all its aspects, is Walker's *The Reformation* (1900).

a foothold in England and to bring the land under the authority of the pope. Thus England, as the leading Protestant kingdom, became the storm centre in the great religious struggle, and the success of the movement elsewhere depended in no small part on the policy that England adopted.

207. Elizabeth's Position at Home. — To meet the great danger confronting her, Elizabeth needed the united support of all her people and a full treasury. But in 1558 she possessed neither. When she came to the throne, the revulsion of feeling was so great on account of the outrages of Mary's government that the people were more willing to condone errors and overlook personal weaknesses than they had been in 1553. She did not have their full support, however, and she had great difficulties to face. There was the uncertainty of her own title to the throne and the question of her legitimacy or illegitimacy, a matter of no little importance, for there were pretenders, of whom Mary Stuart was the most dangerous, with claims to the throne of England. Moreover, her treasury was not only empty, but was burdened with a debt of more than £200,000; and her own income, which remained fixed while the wealth of the kingdom was increasing and prices were rising, was insufficient, and caused her to seem, in later times, niggardly and parsimonious. Above all there was the question of her own marriage, a question which her sister Mary had decided so badly that to it may be traced the disasters of her reign. Should Elizabeth follow Mary's example and choose a Spaniard, or should she give her hand to a foreigner, all hope of a national and independent policy for England would be for the time being lost.

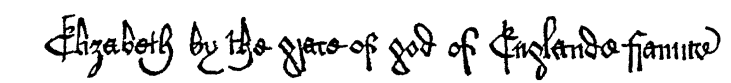
On the religious side, the kingdom was divided by religious differences, and there was constant danger of a religious war such as was destined to break out later in France, the Netherlands, and Germany. Such a conflict, which at this time would have been a terrible catastrophe for England, would surely take place should Elizabeth fanatically support either of the extreme parties, Roman Catholic or Puritan.

In selecting William Cecil as her secretary of state, Elizabeth declared her policy at the very beginning; and in holding to him as her adviser till his death in 1598, in creating him Lord Burghley in 1571, and lord treasurer of England the next year, she showed her appreciation of and confidence in one of the greatest statesmen that England has ever had. Though Elizabeth was her own minister and Burghley her agent, yet to the latter must be attributed in large measure the successes of her reign; for he advised the queen wisely in religious matters at home and piloted her with extraordinary skill through manifold complications abroad.

208. The Religious Settlement. — Almost the first business of the reign was the settlement of the religious question. Elizabeth at once disclosed her policy, by removing the most bigoted of Mary's bishops and appointing, as archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, known to be Protestant in his sympathies. A committee of which Parker was the chief was appointed to revise the Book of Common Prayer. On January 25, 1559, parliament met, and as the government had recommended to the electors throughout England that Protestants be chosen, it soon became evident that the religious settlement was to take a Protestant form. Before the end of April, parliament had passed two great acts, the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity, and the queen, supported by Cecil, had given the royal assent.

The first of these acts[1] declared that the English church was independent of all connection with Rome; proclaimed the queen "supreme governor of the church," for Elizabeth decided not to take for the present the title of "Supreme Head," assumed by Henry VIII, and demanded that all the clergy and every person holding political office should take an oath acknowledging the queen's supremacy or incur the penalty of losing his office. It threatened with severe punishment all persons writing in defence of the papal authority in Eng-

[1] Prothero, *Selected Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents*, p. 1; Gee and Hardy, No. LXXIX; Adams and Stephens, No. 137.



Elizabeth by the grace of god of Englande Fraunce and Irland Quene defendor of the faith etc.

ELIZABETH'S TITLE.[1]

land. Thus the first act concerned the government of the church.

The second dealt with the forms of wor ·ip.[2] It demanded that all Englishmen, ecclesiastical or lay, should use the Book of Common Prayer as drafted in 1552, with some slight alterations, and provided for heavy penalties in all cases of refusal. It ordered all people to attend church or chapel, and enacted that the ornaments of the church and vestments of the clergy should be those of the reign of Edward VI.

The first of these acts was enforced from the beginning, and the oath of supremacy proved a stumbling-block. Of the bishops appointed by Mary, all but one resigned. The consciences of the lesser clergy were not so tender: only two hundred out of ninety-four hundred parish priests gave up their benefices. The second act was at first very leniently executed. Foreign Catholics and many English Catholics continued to attend privately the old service, and were not punished.

Before settling the third question, that of doctrine, Elizabeth preferred to wait, in order to watch the effect of the measures already taken. She was not a theologian, and beyond a love for ceremony, had no fixed religious preferences.

[1] The form "Etc." that followed the title of the kings and queens of England from Elizabeth's time to 1802 was used by Elizabeth because she and her ministers did not wish to commit themselves definitely to Henry VIII's position. The "Etc." meant that the title "Supreme Head" might be used if events so decided, but not otherwise. Maitland, in *E. H. R.*, 1900, pp. 120–124.

[2] Prothero, p. 13; Gee and Hardy, No. LXXX; Adams and Stephens, No. 168.

As long as an outward conformity prevailed that would give to the English church a national character, she did not care what the people believed. But at the same time she and Cecil were wholly aware of the importance of moderation, and were unwilling to alienate further Philip of Spain or to stir up trouble at home by exciting debates on dogma and belief. What Elizabeth had done already was a compromise. Her church was a compromise church: for although its prayer book was a selection from ancient sources, and its doctrine and devotion were organically connected with the great ecclesiastical past, yet in rejecting the authority of the pope and in drawing up the Thirty-nine Articles which defined the Anglican faith, it was distinctly Protestant.

209. Cecil's Policy abroad. — Cecil's foreign policy, like his home policy, showed the minister's desire for peace and moderation. Until the era of the Tudors, England had been a small and thinly populated land; it had been controlled commercially by foreign merchants; and because it had held a position of only second rank as a kingdom, it had been dependent more or less on the friendship of the foreign powers. Henry VII and Henry VIII had begun the task of making England a power of first rank, and Elizabeth completed it. The old time enmity with France had been due, as far as the French were concerned, to the lands that English kings had had in France, and to the claims to the throne of France that these kings had set up. On England's part it had been due to the influence of France in Scotland, and to the danger that some French king might conquer the Netherlands, where lay the seat of English trade. Whoever in the past had controlled the cities of Flanders, whether the count of Flanders (to 1383), the duke of Burgundy (to 1477), or the emperors Maximilian and Charles V (to 1556), had been supported by England; and now that Philip II was lord of the Netherlands, it was inevitable that the traditional policy should be maintained, and that England should seek for an alliance with Spain. Such alliance was as necessary to Philip as to Eliz-

abeth, for England could control the waterway from Spain and Portugal to the Flemish and German ports.

Cecil's policy was, therefore, to maintain under all circumstances friendly relations with Spain, and to this policy he adhered to the end of his career. Furthermore, he tried to play off one foreign power against another, and to prevent by every means possible the isolation of England and the combination of Spain and France against her. In general he was successful. Philip, for his part, knew the value of the English alliance and had no desire to break it; he was timid and slow, and endured a great deal from England in order to preserve friendly relations with her. But he was morbidly conscientious and honestly desired to make England a Roman Catholic kingdom.

Cecil fully understood Philip's position and shaped his own tactics accordingly. Whenever in his religious zeal Philip forgot his duties as a national king, — that is, forgot what he owed to the commerce, industry, and general welfare of his people, — and becoming the head of the Catholic league, plotted with the Catholics against Protestant England, Cecil did one of two things: either he drew near to France and aroused in Philip the fear of a political combination of England and France against Spain; or he aided the Protestants in France, Germany, and the Netherlands and frightened Philip with the thought of a Protestant league that would oppose the Catholic league. Having by these means rendered Philip powerless, Cecil would then defy France by aiding the Protestants in Scotland, and so guard against a French invasion of Scotland, which for ten years was a real danger threatening Elizabeth. In the end he succeeded in driving the French from Scotland and won that kingdom to the Protestant cause. Thus Cecil's purpose was threefold: he was determined to maintain an alliance with Spain, to exclude the French from Scotland, and to prevent England from becoming involved in war either at home or abroad.

210. Maintenance of Peace. — In his attempts to avoid war Cecil showed himself a master of diplomacy. In 1559 England

and Spain were at war with France; but the same year, at Cateau-Cambresis, France and Spain agreed to bring to an end the long struggle which had lasted off and on for forty years, and to this treaty England became a party.

Thus the peace of Cateau-Cambresis carried with it some disadvantages and dangers for England. In the first place, as the weakest and most dependent of the three powers, she was treated with least consideration. For instance, in order to obtain a peace which Cecil greatly desired and the exhausted condition of the treasury made imperative, Elizabeth was compelled to give up all hope of recovering Calais and to consent that France should hold the city for eight years, at the end of which time it should either be restored or paid for with five hundred thousand crowns of gold. In the second place, it involved England in a possible danger, for according to rumor Philip and Henry had not only formed a political alliance, but had also agreed to join in extirpating heretics.

The truth of this rumor has been denied; but Cecil believed it, and seeing only the danger, bent all his efforts to separate Spain and France. He knew that Philip had not been troubled seriously by Elizabeth's adherence to Protestantism, and would do anything to prevent England from falling into the hands of the French; but he grew alarmed when Philip, after Cateau-Cambresis, married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II of France. In order to mollify Philip, he proposed a marriage between Queen Elizabeth and Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, Philip's cousin; and at the same time, to arouse the jealousy of Philip, kept up the friendly relations with France. But the death of Henry II, on July 10, 1559, and the accession of Francis II and Mary Stuart changed the situation, for Francis and Mary at once assumed the title of king and queen, not only of France and Scotland, but of England also. Their claim to the throne of England was based on Elizabeth's illegitimacy; for if Henry VIII's marriage with Anne Boleyn were unlawful, Mary Stuart, according to the assertion of the Catholics, though not under the terms of Henry VIII's will, was the rightful heir

to the throne. Had Mary Stuart's title been recognized, England, Scotland, and France would have been united under a single crown.

Cecil had to change his tactics. He knew that attempts to uphold Mary's title would be made by way of Scotland, and confident that Philip would not interfere, turned his attention, in the years 1559 and 1560, to the north, where he won his first great diplomatic victory.

211. The Condition of Scotland.[1] — Since the failure of Somerset's schemes, ten years before, Scotland had remained under French influence, with Mary of Guise, the widow of James V, as regent. Scotland was a turbulent kingdom, inhabited, except in the cities of the south, by a half-civilized folk, and disturbed by the feuds of rough clan leaders and border barons. It was this discontent that, about the middle of the sixteenth century, made easy the introduction of the reform movement. Beaton, bishop of St. Andrews and leader of the old church party, fought the new ideas and caused about forty persons to be put to death. Not until 1559, when John Knox, one of the most determined of Calvin's followers, returned to Scotland from Germany, where he had been a leader of the Frankfort church, did the Scottish reformation break out in real earnest. Roused by the fiery preaching of Knox, the Scottish people in a frenzy of excitement accepted the new teaching and began to tear down and destroy altars, churches, and other monuments of the old faith. Mary of Guise appealed to France for aid, while the Protestant lords of the congregation turned to Elizabeth.

Cecil saw his opportunity. Knowing that Philip would not raise a hand to make the French queen, Mary Stuart, queen of England, he turned from the Archduke Ferdinand, and having proposed a marriage between Queen Elizabeth and the earl of Arran, heir apparent to the Scottish throne, sent a fleet bearing

[1] Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*, Vol. II, pp. 45–116, is admirable for all that is dealt with in the following sections.

infantry and cavalry to besiege the French at Leith on the Forth. The effort proved entirely successful. The English were victorious. This event, coupled with the death of Mary of Guise in June, 1560, made possible the signing of the treaty of Edinburgh the next month. This treaty provided for the retirement of the French troops, the destruction of the fortresses of Leith and Dunbar, and the accession of Mary Stuart as queen of Scotland, provided she abandon her claim to the English throne, acknowledge Elizabeth as rightful queen of England, grant a constitution to her subjects, and agree that no foreigner should hold office nor ecclesiastic control the revenues in Scotland.

Had Mary accepted the terms of the treaty of Edinburgh, French influence in Scotland would have come to an end then and there. But she refused to accept them, and the treaty was signed only by the Scottish lords. The agreement was, however, a victory for Cecil and Elizabeth, and marked an important step toward the resumption of friendly relations between England and Scotland. The work of reform in Scotland was completed in 1561 by the establishment of the kirk, the adoption of the Protestant faith as defined by John Calvin, the dissolution of the monasteries, and the seizure of the monastic lands. Another bond now existed between the two countries, for thenceforth both England and Scotland were Protestant kingdoms.

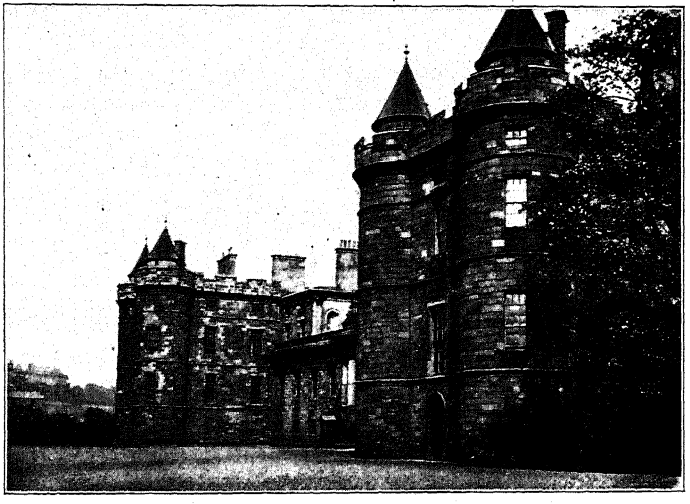
212. End of Mary Stuart's Reign as Queen of France: Cecil's New Policy. — In the autumn of 1560 Cecil's position was a strong one. His chief opponent, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, whom many thought that the queen wished to marry, was temporarily in disgrace, suspected, though probably unjustly, of murdering his wife, Amy Robsart. Leicester had taken the side of France, and for twenty years labored in vain to thwart Cecil and his policy. Toward the end of 1560 the situation underwent another change. The death of Francis II in December gave great joy to the Protestants, because it brought to an end Mary Stuart's reign as queen of France and consequently weakened the influence of Mary's relatives, the Guises, who were the leaders of the extreme Roman

Catholic party in France. It relieved the mind of Elizabeth by removing all danger of a French invasion by way of Scotland. At the same time it pleased Philip also, for he had no further need to dread a union of France and Scotland under a single head; and it did not discourage the English Catholics, who now expected Philip to support the claim of Mary Stuart to the throne of England, as a means of making England a Catholic state.

Cecil foresaw the new difficulty and attacked Philip on his religious side by raising the spectre of a Protestant league. He looked with favor upon a proposal made by the Protestants that Elizabeth should marry the Protestant Eric XIV, King of Sweden. He invited Mary Stuart to return to Scotland and place herself in the hands of the Protestants there. He despatched the duke of Bedford to France to consult with the Huguenot leaders, and another emissary to the Protestant nobles of Scotland, thus making it appear that Elizabeth was about to become the leader of a Protestant league in Europe. At the same time he proceeded against the Catholics in England for attending mass, refused to admit into England a papal legate who was coming to invite Elizabeth to send deputies to the Council of Trent, and spread the report that the Catholics were engaged in a conspiracy against the queen. Cecil had chosen his time well. Philip was confronted with disaffection in the Netherlands; the Turks were advancing westward in the Mediterranean, and the Spanish treasury was empty. His efforts succeeded. Philip was frightened, and the Catholics in England, giving up hope of help from Spain, turned to Mary Stuart as their champion.

213. Mary Stuart in Scotland. — Mary Stuart reached Scotland on August 19, 1561. Her position was not an easy one. She had refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and Elizabeth distrusted her. She had to face the implacable John Knox, to place herself under the control of the Scottish Protestants, and, in consequence, to see her priests insulted and her faith scorned. Yet for four years she governed with shrewdness and skill.

Her advisers were her half-brother, James Stuart, Earl of Moray, and William Maitland of Lethington, favorite secretary of Mary of Guise. She adopted a policy of reconciliation with the moderate Protestants, who desired to see her succeed Elizabeth and eventually unite the crowns of England and Scotland. At the same time she tried to be friendly to Elizabeth, seeking, but in vain, some recognition of herself as heir to the English throne.[1]



HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.
Residence of Mary Queen of Scots, from 1561 to 1567.

During these years, 1561–1565, when peace prevailed in Scotland, important events were taking place abroad. Civil war had broken out in France because of the massacre by the Guises of a number of Huguenots at Vassy, March 1, 1562. The Dutch were gathering their forces for a revolt from Spain. Cecil continued his policy of aiding the Protestants in France in order to destroy the power of the Catholic party and to isolate Mary in Scotland. He persuaded Elizabeth, rather against her will, to

[1] Compare Kendall, No. 53.

send money and troops to the Protestant leader Condé, receiving in return the city of Havre. He continued the attack on the Catholics at home and disgraced the Spanish minister. Meanwhile parliament increased the penalties for refusing to take the oath of supremacy; and convocation, taking up at last the doctrinal question, reduced the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI to Thirty-nine, adopted the catechism and homilies, and so completed the establishment of the Anglican church (1563).

At this point Cecil's policy received a check. At Amboise, in France, a treaty was arranged between Catherine de' Medici, the queen-mother, and Charles IX, the successor of Francis II, on one side, and the Huguenots on the other. Elizabeth seemed to be left in the lurch. Then Cecil, without breaking off relations with France, assumed his old attitude of friendship for Spain. He dropped the proposed marriage with the Archduke Ferdinand, who had proved unsatisfactory, and suggested the Archduke Charles, his elder brother, as a suitor for Elizabeth's hand. At the same time he allowed Catherine to propose that Elizabeth should marry her son, Charles IX. During 1565 Elizabeth dallied with both proposals, holding off France and Spain, and at the same time encouraging the earl of Leicester at home.

Catherine de' Medici's compact with the Huguenots seems to have made Mary Queen of Scots believe that she could no longer count on the aid of France, and she now let it be known openly that she desired to unite the Catholics of Europe and to claim the crown of England. She appealed to the Catholic nobles of England, to the pope, who promised her regular instalments of money, and to Philip, who tried to aid her. Cecil, who knew of all Mary's efforts, met them by sending aid to the Protestants of Scotland and encouraging the marriage of Elizabeth to Eric of Sweden. At the same time, by reviving the project of marriage with Archduke Ferdinand, Philip's cousin, he attempted to draw Philip away from France and a Catholic league.

214. Fall of Mary Stuart. — Mary now made her first mistake. As a means toward the reconversion of her kingdom, she married, on July 29, 1565, her cousin Henry, Lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lennox and a claimant of the Scottish throne.[1] Darnley was a Catholic, by education at least, and an indolent, resentful youth. Owing to the fact that they were so closely related, Darnley and Mary were obliged to get a dispensation from the pope for their marriage. Curiously enough, this dispensation was not received until after the marriage ceremony had been actually performed. The marriage renewed the civil war in Scotland, for the Protestant lords, Moray, the Hamiltons, and the Argyles, saw in it the loss of their power. On the other hand, Mary's refusal to grant Darnley royal privileges led to a quarrel between the royal pair and to the murder, in March, 1566, of Rizzio, Mary's secretary, of whom Darnley was jealous. The birth and baptism of a son, James VI of Scotland and I of England, December 17, 1566, proved to be the last and crowning triumph of Mary's career. Conspiracies were already forming against Darnley, and how far Mary was privy to them is the great mystery of her life. That she knew of the existence of a plot is proved; but that she actually coöperated, either by encouragement or aid, has not been demonstrated. On February 9–10, 1567, Kirk O'Field, the house in which Darnley was staying in Edinburgh, was blown up, and Darnley was found dead in an adjoining field. The crime was committed by the earl of Bothwell, a rough border noble, with whom Mary was in love and whom she

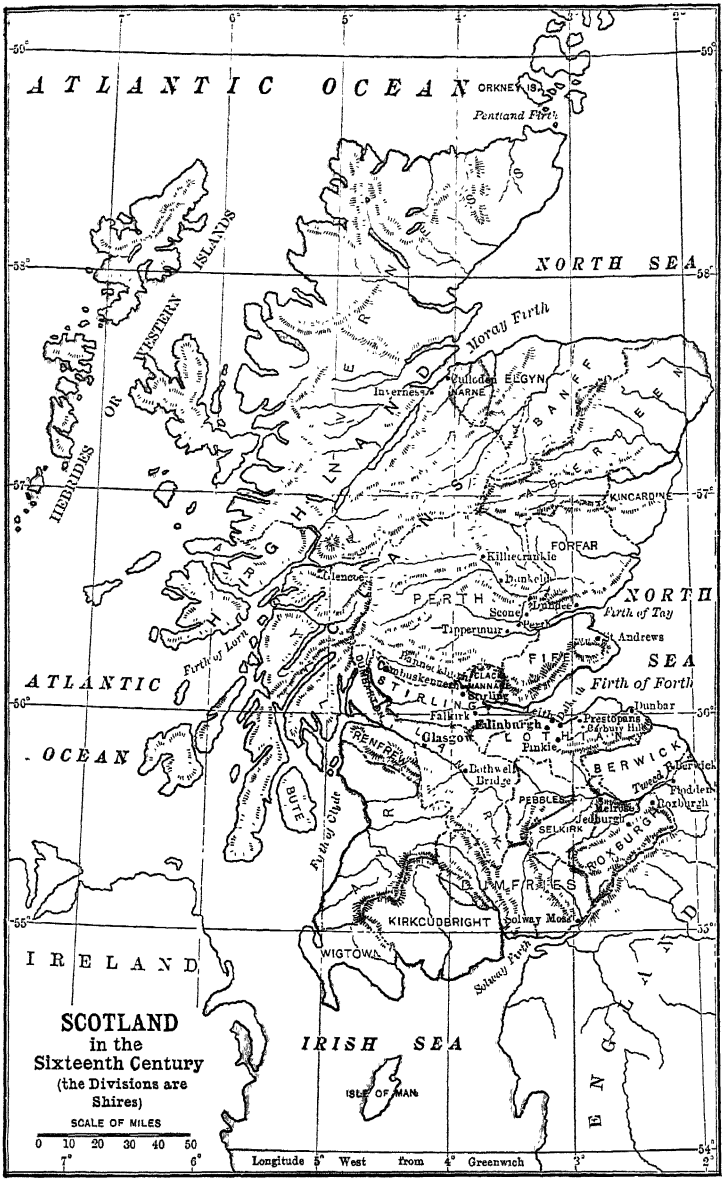
[1] Henry VII King of England = Elizabeth of York

James IV King of Scotland = Margaret = Earl of Angus

James V = Mary of Guise Margaret = Earl of Lennox

Mary Stuart = Lord Darnley Charles, Earl of Lennox

James { VI of Scotland / I of England Lady Arabella Stuart


ATLANTIC OCEAN
ORKNEY IS.
Pentland Firth
NORTH SEA
HEBRIDES OR WESTERN ISLANDS
Moray Firth
Inverness
Culloden
ELGYN
NARNE
KINCARDINE
FOREAR
Killiecrankie
Dunkeld
PERTH
Scone
Perth
Tippermuir
Firth of Tay
St Andrews
FIFE
Firth of Forth
Dunbar
Edinburgh
Prestonpans
Gladsmuir
Pinkie
Falkirk
Glasgow
RENFREW
Bothwell Bridge
BERWICK
Tweed R.
Berwick
Flodden
Melrose
Jedburgh
Roxburgh
PEBBLES
SELKIRK
DUMFRIES
KIRKCUDBRIGHT
Solway Moss
WIGTOWN
Solway Firth
BUTE
Firth of Clyde
Firth of Lorn
ATLANTIC OCEAN
IRELAND
IRISH SEA
ISLE OF MAN
ENGLAND
SCOTLAND
in the
Sixteenth Century
(the Divisions are Shires)
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
Longitude 5° West from 4° Greenwich

afterward married. Proof of the queen's guilt rests upon the Casket Letters, averred to have been written to Bothwell by Mary just before the murder; but the most incriminating portions of these letters have been shown to be probable forgeries.[1]

Whether guilty or not, Mary from that day lost all influence in Scotland. After a defeat at Carberry Hill she was shut up in Lochleven Castle, whence escaping[2] she sought the protection of Elizabeth. A commission appointed to investigate her guilt returned a verdict of not guilty; but Mary remained in England virtually a prisoner for eighteen years, a constant source of embarrassment to the English queen and of danger to Elizabeth's government.[3]

215. England's Security and Prosperity in 1568. — Elizabeth's government had now passed the first great crisis in its history and for the moment at least was secure from outside invasion. The cause of Mary Stuart was discredited in Scotland and the queen herself was in the hands of Elizabeth in England. A rebellious Irish chief of Ulster, Shane O'Neil, who for seventeen years had resisted the authority of the English government and had aided the Catholic cause, was at length ruined by his enemies, the O'Donnells, and assassinated in 1567 by the Scots of Antrim. Both France and Spain were too deeply involved in religious and civil war to think of interfering in England; for the Catholics and Huguenots had resumed their strife in 1567, and the Netherlands, on account of the policy of the Duke of Alba, who became regent of the country the same year, were in full revolt against the authority

[1] Lang, *Mystery of Mary Stuart*, contains an elaborate examination of the whole question of Mary's guilt. But its conclusions are rather negative, though on the whole favorable to Mary. As Hume Brown points out, the question of the Casket Letters is of little importance to the student of history; *History of Scotland*, II, p. 132, note. See his bibliography of the Mary Stuart question, pp. 457–459. Rait, in *Mary Queen of Scots*, 1542–1587 (Scottish History from Contemporary Writers), has gathered the chief documents in the case in an excellent and usable little book.

[2] Kendall, No. 55.

[3] Kendall, No. 56.

of the Spanish king and were about to enter on their war for independence. France and Spain also were at odds with each other because Spanish settlers, in 1565, had destroyed a French colony established near St. Augustine in Florida.

At home conditions were equally favorable. Cecil had said at the beginning of the reign that "war is the curse and peace the blessing of God upon a nation; a realm gaineth more by one year's peace than by ten years' war," and the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign had proved the truth of his saying. The prosperity of the English people was largely due to the growth of trade and commerce, which had suffered under Edward VI and Mary, owing to the debasement of the currency and the neglect of English shipping. Cecil had begun at once to "decry base money" and to provide for the reform of the currency. In 1560 a proclamation had been issued, calling in all the old coins, Spanish gold and silver pieces, the base shillings and sixpences, and promising to exchange them for new ones. Pure English coins had been issued, both gold and silver, and were gradually put into circulation. Merchants could tell once more what the value of the coins was, and were not afraid of further debasement. The amount of silver was increased as the wealth of the South American mines, which had been brought to Spain and spread through Europe by the Spanish wars, began to pour into England. Thus, money became better and more plentiful, prices rose evenly and gradually, and the merchants and traders, who were no longer hampered by a debased currency, began to grow rich. Money was collected into the form of capital, and new undertakings were started in trade, industry, and commerce.

At the same time Cecil encouraged artisans from other countries, Flemings driven from Flanders and Huguenots from France, to settle in England, and he made every effort to establish the particular handicrafts in which they excelled. He even settled a company of cloth workers in his own town of Stamford, and sought by every means in his

power to advance England's position as a manufacturing land.

The English government paid especial attention to shipping, and by several enactments gave trade advantages to Englishmen, inciting them to build ships and to do the carrying trade for themselves. Elizabeth confirmed the charters of the Merchant Adventurers, and in 1564 formally incorporated the company.[1] Thus England was able to injure Philip not only by arms and diplomacy, but also by measures affecting the trade of Flanders, which in the end practically ruined the city of Antwerp. In truth, we can understand Philip's attitude toward England from 1558 to 1588 better by studying trade and commerce than we can by studying diplomacy.

Lastly, Cecil strengthened the queen's navy, got fighting men ready for sea service, built fortresses, and experimented with the making of brass cannon. Thus while encouraging the building of merchantmen and giving England a monopoly of shipping, he was laying the foundations of England's navy and was preparing the way for England's future greatness as mistress of the seas.

216. Agriculture and Labor. — But the agricultural and landowning classes did not prosper as much as did the merchants and manufacturers. The reign of Elizabeth marks the completion of that great movement which we have seen taking place since the reign of Richard II — the breaking up of the mediæval system of agriculture. Merchants and manufacturers were becoming more important than landholders and agricultural laborers, and were controlling the policy of the government.[2]

This advance of the moneyed class was important, in that the government was extending its powers and taking into its own hands a great many matters that had formerly been controlled

[1] Lingelbach, "The Merchant Adventurers of England," *Translations and Reprints*, pp. xxxi, 229.

[2] See a contemporary account of the condition of England in Elizabeth's reign, by Harrison, in Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1577), extract in Hart's *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, No. 44, and Kendall, No. 67.

by the towns and the gilds,— such as the prices of commodities and wages, the hours and methods of labor. Only once before in such matters had the state made an important attempt to interfere. The Statute of Laborers had been passed by parliament in 1351, only because there had existed no agricultural gild to do for the laborers what the towns and the craft gilds were doing for the artisans. But the decay of the towns and the gilds had thrown trade regulation into confusion, while enclosures, decay of villeinage, and other causes already noted had increased poverty and vagabondage among the agricultural classes. Attempts had been made to check these evils by preventing further enclosures, by encouraging corn raising instead of sheep raising, and by regulating wages. But with the rise of prices[1] in Elizabeth's reign poverty increased, and the old means of relieving the poor no longer existed; for the monasteries, chantries, and other semi-religious foundations that had looked after the poor in preceding centuries had been swept away by Henry VIII and Edward VI.

Among the earliest measures to be considered by Elizabeth's parliament, therefore, were those regulating labor and prices and relieving the poor. In 1563 two acts were passed,—one concerning relief of the poor, and another, commonly called the Statute of Apprentices, concerning "artificers, laborers, servants of husbandry, and apprentices."[2] The first required that every parish should contribute to the support of its own poor; the second regulated labor, wages, and apprenticeship, and placed the responsibility of controlling wages upon the justices of the peace, those country gentlemen who had been for some time becoming more and more important in the counties on account of their judicial authority, and who were now given new prominence as administrators of the poor law and the statute of apprentices.[3]

[1] During Elizabeth's reign prices rose sixty per cent, wages only thirty. During the entire sixteenth century the rise in prices was more than double that of wages.

[2] Prothero, pp. 41, 45. [3] Compare Adams and Stephens, No. 177.

Thus in the period from 1558 to 1568 England had grown strong in wealth, industry, shipping, and commerce. The government, prudent and patriotic, was holding the balance of power abroad, because by aiding the Dutch or the Huguenots, it could embarrass Spain or France; while at home it was becoming more national, assuming new duties and exercising new powers, regulating and controlling labor and wages, providing for the



SPEKE HALL.

A fine old manor-house seven miles southeast of Liverpool.

poor, punishing rogues and vagabonds, and either itself or through its officials, doing the work that had been performed in the Middle Ages by the local factors, — towns, gilds, and manorial lords. A transformed and modern England was gradually appearing.

217. England's Struggle with Catholicism. — But England had still to face a crisis greater even than that through which she had already passed. After 1568 the Roman Catholic church, which had begun to regain ground in Europe by win-

ning back converts in Spain, Italy, France, and southern Germany, made an attack on England, partly to recover that land for the old faith, and partly to weaken the Protestant cause, of which England was the main support.

The instrument of Roman Catholicism in England was Mary Stuart, who from this time forward became the centre of plot after plot against Elizabeth and the Protestants. Mary Stuart had finally given up all expectation of aid from France, for Catherine was making friendly advances to England, and henceforth depended on the pope, Philip, and the duke of Alba abroad and on the Catholic lords at home. So numerous were her negotiations with these Catholic leaders, largely carried on through the Spanish ministers in England, De Spes and afterward Mendoza, that peace with Spain became more and more difficult to maintain, and the years 1568 to 1571 were marked by a series of acts and counter-acts, which were but warnings of the great religious struggle to come. For instance, in 1568, Cecil seized a large sum of money, which Philip had borrowed of Genoese bankers and which the latter had sought to convey at their own risk to Flanders. Philip retaliated by confiscating all English property in the Netherlands. Then Cecil in his turn confiscated all Spanish property in England, thereby causing consternation and disaster in Spain. This act injured Spain's commerce, destroyed her credit, and weakened the resources not only of Philip at home, but also of Alba in the Netherlands.

Next followed secret efforts of the Continental and English Catholics to overthrow Cecil, restore the old nobility, place Mary Stuart on the throne, and make Roman Catholicism the religion of England. Pius V established seminaries on the Continent at Douai and St. Omer in the Netherlands as training schools for the education of English priests. He despatched money and agents to encourage the Catholic party in England, while the duke of Alba not only sent money to England and Scotland, but also encouraged a new Irish revolt under the Fitzgeralds, or Geraldines. Though Cecil had imprisoned De Spes

for his insolence, Mary Stuart continued to send letters to the pope, Philip, and the duke of Alba, begging for aid, and promising coöperation in any conspiracy that might be formed to dethrone Elizabeth. A conspiracy was actually formed in 1569. Mary was to marry the duke of Norfolk, the leading Catholic noble in England, and a rising, beginning in the north, was to follow. But Cecil knew all the details of the scheme. Elizabeth had Norfolk arrested and shut up in the Tower, and then summoned to her the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who, as Cecil knew, had promised to arouse the region of the north and capture it for Catholicism, release Mary, restore the Catholic faith, and return the Spanish property confiscated by Cecil. The earls refused to obey the queen's summons, and without waiting for the troops that Alba had promised to send, rose in revolt. This movement, the only important armed revolt against Elizabeth in England, was quelled before the end of the year, and the defeated earls fled to Scotland, where they joined the Scottish Catholics in plots against the queen.

218. The Ridolfi Plot. — Though the Catholic cause was not making progress in England, it was gaining elsewhere, and Elizabeth, in 1570, had good reason to fear a Spanish invasion of England. The Roman Catholic party seemed to be winning in the religious wars in France and the Netherlands. In England the conspirators were in no wise discouraged, and the Italian banker, Ridolfi, was passing back and forth between England and Italy weaving plots.[1] On February 25, Pius V, in order to strengthen the Catholic cause in England, excommunicated Elizabeth and absolved all Englishmen from their oaths of allegiance. In Scotland the regent Moray had been murdered in Linlithgow, and the friends of Mary, assisted by the Northumberland earls, were ready to cross the border.

In the presence of this activity, Cecil not only sent aid to the

[1] For Ridolfi, see Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, pp. 273, 382–383.

Huguenots in La Rochelle and the Dutch in the Netherlands, and allowed English privateers to sweep the Spanish from the English Channel, but also promoted friendly relation with France and advocated a marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, younger brother of Charles IX. (At Blois, April 29, 1572.) A peace made at St. Germain in August, 1570, between Catherine de' Medici and the Huguenots, made this alliance possible by bringing the anti-Spanish party into control in France.

Cecil's diplomacy had the desired effect. The assistance given the Huguenots, the alliance with France, and the proposal to make a French prince king-consort of England terrified Philip, and drove the English Catholics to despair of further aid from him. At once, Cecil, now Lord Burghley, was ready to unfold the details of a plot, called the Ridolfi plot, which he had long been following and in which he suspected Mary Stuart and the duke of Norfolk were implicated. From confessions of conspirators he had learned that the pope, Philip, and the Catholic party in France were pledged to a vast crusade against England in order to crush Protestantism, destroy Elizabeth, assassinate himself, and raise Mary Stuart to the throne. Without hesitation he caused De Spes to be banished from England and the duke of Norfolk to be arrested. The next year (1572) the latter was tried by his peers,[1] found guilty, and executed, and Mary Stuart was saved from the same fate only because Elizabeth was unwilling to injure a crowned head. Then, as a counter-stroke to the Spanish plot, Cecil aided the Dutch and Flemish Beggars in their siege of Brill (1572), which began the revolt of the Netherlands against the authority of Spain.

219. Loyalty of Parliament during the Struggle. — Whenever Elizabeth was confronted by a great crisis like this, she was fond of summoning parliament, in order to show to other powers how well her acts were upheld by the English nation. In 1571 she called her third parliament. This body, like its

[1] Prothero, p. 138.

predecessors, was composed mainly of Protestants, partly because the queen had requested that Protestants be elected, partly because honest Roman Catholics, unable conscientiously to take the oath of supremacy, could not sit as members.

Parliament passed certain acts that were intended as a reply to the great Catholic conspiracy. The first of these made it high treason to compass the queen's life, to claim the throne during the lifetime of the queen, or even to support such a claim;[1] a second made it high treason for any one to bring into England, or to put into use there, any decree or bull of the pope;[2] while a third sanctioned the Thirty-nine Articles already adopted by convocation as containing the doctrine of the Anglican church.[3] The fourth parliament, which met in 1572, imposed the penalty of death upon all who should attempt to seize or destroy any of the queen's fortresses or castles, or should conspire to set at liberty any one imprisoned for treason.[4]

Although these measures show that Elizabeth's parliaments were devoted to her cause and policy, yet it must be remembered that they did not represent the whole of England. They were composed in the main of Protestants from the south, and included no members either from the north, where, as in the days of the Pilgrimage of Grace, lay the chief strength of Catholicism, or from Ireland, where at this time the Geraldines were in full revolt, fighting for Ireland and the Roman Catholic Church.

It should be noticed, furthermore, that though not yet in the modern sense a representative body, parliament was gradually becoming more modern as regards the class of men who sat in it, the questions it discussed, and the powers it exercised. Instead of country squires and others representing the agricultural life of the country, merchants, traders, and lawyers

[1] Prothero, p. 57.
[2] Prothero, pp. 60-63; Adams and Stephens, No. 174.
[3] Prothero, p. 64; Gee and Hardy, No. LXXXIII.
[4] Prothero, p. 65.

were becoming members. Though party organization was as yet unknown, the members were becoming more outspoken in their support of, or opposition to, governmental measures, and were gradually establishing certain parliamentary rights, such as freedom from arrest, freedom of speech, and freedom of access to the sovereign.[1] No measure proposed by the queen could become law without their consent, and they controlled all appropriations of money. Yet, on the other hand, the powers of the queen were very great. She named the speaker, appointed new peers, created new boroughs, and, by means of the right of initiative, exercised control of the bills to be brought before parliament.[2] She was also supreme executive, and through the Privy Council, the ministers, the Star Chamber at Westminster, the Councils of the North and of Wales, and some other bodies, controlled the actual administration of the government.

220. Period of Shifting Diplomacy in Foreign Relations (1572–1580). — The revolt of the northern nobles and the Ridolfi plot had induced Elizabeth to seek an alliance with France. But in 1572 an event took place in that country that nearly severed these friendly relations. On St. Bartholomew's Day, Catherine de' Medici, alarmed at the influence obtained by the anti-Spanish party in France over the young king, Charles IX, took up the cause of the Catholic party and caused thousands of Huguenots to be massacred in Paris and the provinces. But Elizabeth made no change in her policy. Assured by Catherine that this massacre did not mean the return of the

[1] On parliamentary privileges at this time, see Prothero's masterly preface, pp. lxxxviii–xcviii. Documents in his work may be found as follows: concerning freedom from arrest, pp. 126–132; freedom of speech, pp. 109, 111, 117, 118–126; access to the sovereign through the speaker, pp. 117, 120, 124, 125.

[2] Measures were prepared by the crown, that is, by the ministers. The power of the government lay in simple prohibition (Prothero, pp. 115, 125, 126), use of force (p. 119), displeasure of queen (p. 120), or veto (p. 125). When once laws were made the queen could neutralize their force either by issue of special proclamations (pp. 168, 169) or by dispensing with them altogether (pp. 111, 113, 179).

Guises and Catholics to power, she adhered to the French alliance, and when the duke of Anjou refused to marry her, accepted as a suitor, though she had little intention of marrying him, the youngest brother of the king, the duke of Alençon. This coquetting with France had a double consequence: by exasperating Catherine de' Medici, who did not like to be played with, it almost caused a breach between the two countries; and it offended the Puritans at home, one of whom, Stubbs, wrote a famous book, *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulph*, — the French marriage, — for which he suffered the loss of his right hand.

In 1574 the duke of Anjou became king of France as Henry III, and, hating Protestantism, revived the old hostile policy against England. For the moment Elizabeth considered Burghley's plan of friendship with Spain; but this plan was rendered impossible by the Spanish Fury in Antwerp in 1576, when the unpaid and mutinous Spanish soldiers, by devastating and ruining the fairest cities of Flanders, drove the Flemish nobles over to the side of William of Orange and the Dutch. Elizabeth, aroused against Spain by this act, and desiring, as English sovereigns had always desired, to keep on good terms with those who seemed likely to control Flanders, sent four hundred thousand crowns to aid the Flemish. Philip retaliated by sending aid to Desmond in Ireland, by encouraging the Catholics in England, by despatching Requesens and afterward Parma, two able and conciliatory regents, to win back Flanders, and by fitting out a fleet in 1580, apparently for the conquest of England.

Thus England had both France and Spain against her. It began to look as if, in her fickleness, Elizabeth, who alone was responsible for the policy of this period, had succeeded in injuring her popularity at home and in endangering her relations abroad to such an extent as to isolate England, a contingency that Burghley for twenty years had sought strenuously to avoid.

221. Measures against the Jesuits: Drake and Spain. — Events themselves were rapidly bringing matters to a crisis. Despite

Elizabeth's fickleness and Burghley's desire to avoid war, England was gradually assuming a position of open hostility toward Spain and the Catholic party.

The labors of the Jesuits and Seminarians were arousing the anger of loyal Englishmen, and were leading to reprisals on the part of the government. From Rome, Rheims, Douai, and



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

St. Omer priests had gone to England to work for the conversion of the land. Led by Father Allen, they had become active and dangerous agents of Catholicism, and had already succeeded in increasing the number of converts and infusing new life into the Roman Catholic party in England. Already had

Esmé Stuart, Count D'Aubigny, gone to Scotland, and Sanders, an English refugee priest, to Ireland, to rouse these countries against England. In 1581 certain Jesuits — Creighton, Parsons, and Holt — had entered England, while Campion and others, refraining from meddling with political matters, were engaged in the spiritual work of conversion. But conversion to Roman Catholicism involved necessarily the denial of the queen's supremacy. Therefore parliament passed laws declaring that any one who drew away any of the queen's subjects "to the Romish religion" should be adjudged a traitor.[1] Having acted in defiance of these laws, Campion and two others were tortured and executed in December, 1581. During the following years harsh measures were taken against all Roman Catholics, notably in 1585, when all Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests were ordered to leave England, or, in case of refusal, to be declared guilty of high treason and to suffer death.[2] These acts were the work, not of Burghley, but of Walsingham, Knollys, and other Puritans in the council, who, in opposition to Burghley, were determined to bring on war with Spain.

The actions of the English privateers abroad, commanded by Drake and Hawkins, were aiding the war party at home. A series of expeditions since 1568 had culminated in the famous voyage of Drake in the *Pelican* or *Golden Hind* (1577–1580). The *Pelican* had sailed "into the South Sea, and thence about the whole globe of the earth," robbing Spanish vessels and seizing an incalculable amount of Spanish treasure. Of this treasure Elizabeth received her share.[3]

222. Plots and Counterplots: Execution of Mary Stuart. — The activities of the seminary priests and the Catholic conspirators, on one side, and the raids of Hawkins and Drake, on the other, were making it evident that Elizabeth must stop her shifting diplomacy and come out definitely on one side or the other.

[1] Prothero, p. 74.

[2] Prothero, p. 83; Gee and Hardy, No. LXXXV.

[3] Lee, No. 145.

A Spanish and Jesuit plot had been formed in Scotland for the purpose of securing that government for Roman Catholicism, and D'Aubigny, who was the centre of the plot, was supported by Philip and the Guises. But the Protestant nobles of Scotland seized the person of King James VI in the raid of Ruthven, banished D'Aubigny, and checked all danger from that quarter (August, 1582).[1] In the same year an attempt was made to kill William of Orange, stadtholder of the Dutch republic, but without success. In the council, Walsingham was tracing with marvellous ingenuity the plots formed against Elizabeth, and was using his information for the purpose of bringing about war with Spain. Of him it was said that he heard in England what was whispered in Rome.

And, finally, in 1584, the death of the duke of Alençon, the last of the suitors whom Elizabeth had considered seriously, removed the need of an alliance with France. The heir to the French throne was Henry of Navarre, leader of the Huguenots, and to prevent, if possible, his accession to the throne was now the great object of the Guises and the Catholic party, who for that purpose organized the Catholic league. Now that bitter civil war was about to break out in France, Elizabeth knew that the French would be useless as allies and harmless as foes.

Thus with 1584 the war party had obtained the upper hand in Elizabeth's council and had determined to meet the Catholic intrigues by forming a Protestant league. In 1584, when a plot to assassinate Elizabeth was discovered, an association of loyal Englishmen was formed for the purpose of revenging "to the uttermost all malicious actions and attempts" against the queen. This association was legalized by parliament in 1585.[2] In the same year a new act[3] was passed against the Jesuits and the seminarians, and there is little doubt that had

[1] For Scottish history during this period, see Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, Vol. II, pp. 127–239. On the Ruthven raid, pp. 187–193.

[2] Prothero, p. 80; especially p. 83, § IV. [3] Prothero, p. 83.

not the queen and Burghley been inclined to leniency, the measures taken would have been much more severe.

Already Walsingham had in his possession the details of the greatest of the plots against the queen. After 1584 Mendoza had been dismissed and Mary placed under the guardianship of the rigid Puritan, Sir Amyas Paulet, at Tutbury, where she continued her treasonable activity. Through her letters she betrayed the existence of well-formed plans laid by Philip for the conquest of England. Philip had been especially angered by a new expedition led by Drake to the Spanish West Indies in 1585, by the despatch of five thousand Englishmen to Holland to aid the Dutch, and by Leicester's assumption of the title of governor-general of the Dutch Republic after the death of William of Orange, who had been murdered by a Roman Catholic fanatic in 1584. He now determined on an invasion of England. In June, 1586, Mary disinherited her son James in favor of Philip, whose plans now became more definite. To his desire to conquer England for the sake of the Catholic cause, was added a further wish to win the new inheritance for himself and his family.

Before the great expedition could be undertaken, spies and traitors had betrayed to Walsingham the plot that Babington, the priest Ballard, and Mendoza, in Paris, had been gradually working out against Elizabeth. In August, 1586, Babington and five others were arrested and on ample evidence were executed a month later. With all the proofs in his hands Walsingham then charged Mary Stuart with conspiracy. Under the act of 1585 she was brought to trial before a special commission sitting in the great hall of Fotheringay Castle, and during ten days conducted her defence with consummate ability.[1] On October 25 she was condemned to death. Elizabeth was determined that Mary should die, but was unwilling to bear the blame of having executed a sovereign. After long delay she signed the warrant, and on February 8, 1587, Mary Stuart was

[1] Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group II, pp. 9–18; Prothero, pp. 140–143.

beheaded.[1] Thereupon Elizabeth became angry, asserting that she had wished to pardon the Scottish queen; and Davison, the secretary, who had carried out the sentence, was deprived of his office, thrown into the Tower, and compelled to pay a fine that ruined him. His treatment by Elizabeth, Burghley, and the council is not a pleasant episode in English history.

223. The Spanish Armada.—The death of Mary gave Philip an immediate claim to the English throne. He did not want that throne for himself, but wished to establish his favorite daughter, Isabella, as queen of England; and with this end in view he hurried forward the preparations for the great Armada, which had been going on in dilatory fashion for two years. In England, as well as in Spain, the execution of Mary Queen of Scots had caused a great shock. Conspirators were discouraged. Moderate Catholics, who had been ready to support the cause of Mary Stuart as long as she lived, would not transfer their allegiance to Philip, because in so doing they would have been disloyal to their nationality. They now stood shoulder to shoulder with the Protestants in resisting Philip's aggression. Protestants rejoiced in the death of the Catholic queen and showed their devotion to England and Elizabeth in demonstrations of loyalty. The foreign powers, willing perhaps to aid Philip in conquering England for the Catholics, would not raise a finger to aid him in increasing the territory and power of Spain. The pope, Sixtus V, though anxious to bring England back into the fold of the church, strongly opposed Philip's proposal to seize the English throne for Isabella. The great duel was to be between mediæval, ecclesiastical, autocratic Spain on one side, and young, national, Protestant England on the other. All other powers held aloof. Preparations for the great expedition, which had been hastened by the death of Mary Stuart, were delayed by Drake's attack on Cadiz in the spring of 1587, whereby damage to the extent of a million ducats was inflicted on Spain. Philip was

[1] Kendall, No. 58.

enraged at Drake's insolence, and even Burghley, who was still struggling to preserve the peace, was angry. But the English people were delighted at this "singeing of the Spanish king's beard" and made Drake a national hero.

At last, in the summer of 1588, the Armada started for England, reaching the Channel in July. It presented an imposing array of one hundred and thirty-two vessels, but was in fact ponderous and unwieldy, badly equipped and provisioned, and commanded by an incompetent admiral, the duke of Medina Sidonia.[1] Confronting it were the English ships, light in tonnage and few in number, but manned by experienced crews and led by Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and others, the heroes of a hundred sea-fights. The plan of the Armada was to sail to Flanders, take on board six thousand of Parma's men, and land them on the English or the Scottish coast. But the great fleet never reached Flanders. Beset on every side by the English vessels during its voyage up the Channel, it was finally utterly defeated in a hard fight off Gravelines and compelled to take flight northward through the North Sea. Still further harassed by the storms of the north coast, it suffered final disaster in rounding Scotland and Ireland, and only fifty-three vessels ever again reached Spain.

224. After the Armada: Significance of the Victory. — The defeat of the Armada did not by any means destroy the power of Spain, and for a decade Englishmen constantly feared a renewal of the attack. A counter expedition in 1589 was led by Drake and Essex against Spain, for the purpose of aiding Don Antonio, claimant to the throne of Portugal, which had been annexed by Philip to Spain in 1580. But the expedition failed. During the years that followed, while Englishmen watched for a second armada and suspected Jesuit plots, English vessels continued to prey on Spanish fleets and to bring home rich prizes. In 1596 their suspicions were nearly realized. An armada, planned to land

[1] Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group III, pp. 18–25; Kendall, No. 59.

a strong Spanish army on the coast of Ireland for the aid of Tyrone, was destroyed by storms, October 28, off Cape Finisterre. Then Lord Howard, Essex, and Ralegh sailed boldly into the harbor of Cadiz, and after destroying the shipping, captured and sacked the city. Another similar expedition in 1597 failed.

These acts of retaliation marked the close of the conflict. All were weary of the struggle and desired that it should end. In France and England the great religious war was over. In the former, Roman Catholicism had won; in the latter, Protestantism. France had emerged from her period of civil war a united Catholic state. Henry IV had renounced Protestantism in 1593, had made his peace with the Huguenots in 1598 by granting religious toleration in his edict issued from Nantes, and in the same year had made peace with Philip in the treaty of Vervins. England, rich and prosperous, had become a national and Protestant kingdom, no longer in the leading strings of France and Spain, but independent and self-reliant, ready for the great future that was before her. Philip lay dying in the mountains of Guadarrama,[1] knowing that England was lost to Catholicism, and that his own country was exhausted. In the same year Burghley died in London. With the exception of the queen, he was the greatest of those who had won for England her victory. Events had often thwarted his policy, but in the main it had prevailed. That it was a useful policy was shown later when Burghley's son and successor, Robert Cecil, in order to prevent Flanders from falling into the hands of France, united England and Spain in an alliance which lasted for twenty-five years.

225. Rise of the Puritans. — England had become a Protestant kingdom and her church a Protestant church; yet among the Protestants were those who were not satisfied with Elizabeth's moderation, and wished that "all, even the slightest vestiges of popery might be removed" from the church and

[1] Kendall, No. 60.

from the mind. These people, at first called "Evangelics," had been obliged to flee from England during Mary's reign and to take refuge in certain cities of Germany, — Geneva, Zurich, Strasburg, Frankfort, and Basel. There they had established churches, and during the years 1554–1558 had fought out among themselves many of the issues afterward to be raised in England. When in 1554 they had submitted to Calvin the question as to whether or not the prayer book of Edward VI should be adopted, the latter decided against it, on the ground that the prayer book lacked the *purity* that was desirable. This decision gave the victory to the more extreme or Calvinistic party among them and suggested the name, Puritan, which was afterward given to this party in England.

In 1555 a new order for the church in Geneva was drawn up, which omitted as pernicious the old prayers, hymns, and saints' days. It produced much quarrelling between the Anglicans and Calvinists on the Continent, but was finally adopted both at Geneva and Frankfort. A new translation of the Bible was printed — the Genevan or "Breeches" Bible, which omitted the Apocrypha, struck out of the calendar saints' names and days, and in the explanatory notes defended the Puritan doctrines. The new Bible was smaller in size than had been the older versions, contained a text which for the first time was divided into verses, and was printed in Roman instead of black letter type. With Calvin's *Institutes* and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* it became the guide and consoler of the Puritans during the later days of trouble. Thus in Geneva and Frankfort, before Elizabeth's accession, a new religious party had come into being, which not only rejected the entire tradition of the old Catholic church, but was opposed to any compromise with the old forms and doctrines.

226. Elizabeth and the Puritans: the Question of Vestments. — When these reformers returned to England, they hoped that Elizabeth and her ministers would adopt the Calvinism of the Continent. They were not so much opposed to the doctrines of the Forty-two (afterward Thirty-nine) Articles as to the

retention in the service of "certain vestments and ceremonies which seemed to savor of the Roman liturgy." They wished to get rid of the cap and surplice, of the use of the sign of the cross, of the ring in marriage, of the practice of kneeling at the reception of the sacrament. But Elizabeth would consider none of these changes, and in her decision was supported by the majority of the nation, which loved the old Catholic forms. The matter was settled by the queen's injunctions of 1559[1] and by the Act of Uniformity of the same year, which ordered that the vestments and rites should be those of Edward VI's time.[2] In the convocation of 1563 the reformers made a formal statement of their demands, which was rejected.[3] Two years later the queen met the issue squarely in Parker's "Advertisements" of 1565, which ordained that every parish minister should wear a surplice, and that the celebrant in collegiate and cathedral churches should wear a cope.[4] The clergy still refused, however, to observe these regulations, and it was not until Whitgift became archbishop that serious attempts were made to compel them to do so.

227. Division among the Reformers: Presbyterians and Independents. — Thus far the reformers had been concerned chiefly with questions of worship; they had not objected to the state control of the church. But the controversy over vestments had led certain among them to ask whether the organization of the Anglican church ought not to be changed also. Of these, Thomas Cartwright, professor of divinity at Cambridge, was the leader. In *The Book of Discipline*, published in 1580, he presented his views.[5] He agreed with the Anglicans in desiring the church to be national, but he wished it to be separated entirely from state control. He would grant to the state only

[1] For "Tables in the Church," Gee and Hardy, pp. 428, 439; Prothero, pp. 188, 190, especially § XXX.

[2] Act of Uniformity, § XIII, Gee and Hardy, p. 466; Prothero, p. 20.

[3] Prothero, p. 191; Lee, No. 137.

[4] Gee and Hardy, No. LXXXI; Prothero, p. 191.

[5] Prothero, pp. 248–249.

the right to aid the church in suppressing heresy and enforcing uniformity. He wanted a complete organization for the church, but one differing from that of the Anglican. Instead of convocation he wanted a national synod, a provincial synod, and classes or local assemblies. For bishops and priests he would substitute presbyters and elders, and would have every minister selected by the congregation and dependent upon it, instead of being appointed and paid by the state.[1] He agreed with the Anglicans in believing that every baptized person, whether or not he had remained faithful to his vows, should be a member of the church. Those supporting these views came to be known as Presbyterians, and in Northampton and Warwick they set up Presbyterian churches which adopted the Genevan Book of Common Prayer instead of that of Edward VI. Thus the Presbyterians differed from the Anglicans in rejecting convocation, bishops, the Book of Common Prayer, the method of appointing and paying ministers, and finally the authority of the state and the supremacy of the queen.

More radical than the Presbyterians were those afterward known as Independents, who rejected not only bishops and a state church, but also presbyters, synods, and a national church. They desired that only those who were faithful Christians should constitute a church, and that each church so constituted should be complete in itself, self-governing, and independent of all higher control, whether of state, convocation, or synod. Men holding this view of church organization had been in Frankfort in 1558, and a church thus constituted had been set up in London in 1567. But the man who gave definite form to these views was Robert Browne, who declared that "True Christians are united into a companie or number of believers, who by willing covenant made with their God place themselves under the government of God and Christ."[2] The Independents were not willing, as were the Puritans, to remain within the Anglican church, hoping for a purification of its

[1] Lee, No. 135. [2] Prothero, p. 224.

worship, or as were the Presbyterians, hoping that the government would change the organization of the church. They were more than Non-conformists; they were Separatists. Inasmuch as they were to apply their theories of church government to political government also, they are of very great importance in the later history both of England and of America.

228. Persecution of the Extreme Protestants.—Archbishop Grindal, who had succeeded Matthew Parker in 1575, had been very lenient toward the reformers; but Whitgift, who came into office in 1583, was ready to carry out the queen's wishes and to suppress all synods and classes as well as congregational meetings.[1] He applied the Act of Uniformity with such severity as to call out a protest from Lord Burghley. Whitgift worked through the Court of High Commission, a body of men provided for in the Act of Supremacy for the purpose of judging and punishing heresy.[2] He also used his authority as archbishop of Canterbury to deprive many Presbyterians of their benefices. In 1585–1587, when parliament and the privy council seemed inclined to favor Puritanism, Elizabeth rebuked those bodies, coming out positively against all "new-fangledness." Thus beaten, the Puritans resorted to new methods, and in 1588 began to issue pamphlets of a most scurrilous character, attacking the bishops, and signed "Martin Marprelate." The violence of the attack showed that the Puritans were losing ground, and that villification was taking the place of honest discussion.

This violent controversy, occurring in the very year of the Armada, injured the Puritan cause and led to a reaction against all Non-conformists and Separatists. They were charged with disloyalty, in that they threatened England with disunion at a very critical juncture, and certain measures were taken against them, which culminated in the act of parliament of 1593.[3] This act was directed against "seditious sectaries and

[1] Prothero, p. 211.

[2] Prothero, pp. 227, 232, 235, 237; Adams and Stephens, No. 172.

[3] Gee and Hardy, No. LXXXVI.

disloyal persons," and inaugurated a new persecution, chiefly of the Separatists. Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, prominent leaders of this religious body, were put to death, April 6, 1595. Others were driven into exile, and all were silenced. This persecution continued for many years, and among those who suffered was a congregation of Separatists in northern England, who, "hunted and persecuted on every side," fled from England in 1608, going first to Holland, and finally to America.[1]

229. Last Years of Queen Elizabeth's Reign. — Elizabeth's last years were stormy. The war with Spain dragged on; a new insurrection in Ireland under Tyrone, nephew of Shane O'Neil, kept that land in a state of unbroken disturbance; while the persecution of the Roman Catholics, the Puritans, and the Separatists provoked bitterness of feeling at home. Elizabeth herself was growing old and petulant. Her favorite, Essex, who had taken Leicester's place in her affections, was a source of continual anxiety to her; and his disobedience, misconduct, and finally his treason, for which he was executed in 1601, caused her great grief. With parliament she came into conflict over the question of monopolies. When her diminishing income made it impossible for her to make gifts, she had been accustomed to grant to favored persons absolute control over the sale of such commodities as salt, corn, oil, etc., and in 1601 parliament protested against this practice.[2] Her submission on this occasion was almost the last great act of her life.

Elizabeth was outliving her time. Burghley, the last of her old advisers, had died in 1598, and the younger men, such as Essex, Robert Cecil, Ralegh, the Bacons, and others, were out of touch with her and quarrelling for position and influence. The new generation of the nation, who knew more of her persecutions than of her cautious diplomacy and wise moderation, greeted her appearance with less enthusiasm than of

[1] Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, Chap. XV; Colby, No. 70.

[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 180; Colby, No. 61 B; Prothero, pp. 111–117.

old and called her miserly. Gradually she drew near her end, and on March 20, 1603, she died, in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-fifth of her reign.[1]

230. Greatness of the Elizabethan Era.—As we emerge from the long and involved period of Elizabeth's reign, we realize that we are face to face with a new and more modern era of English history. England had become a power of first rank, and her people had increased in numbers and become prosperous. For forty years Englishmen had been building ships and sailing on the sea, although they had made but a slight beginning in the direction of colonization. Commerce was growing, as was also the navy, and the few colonial expeditions, notably those of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Ralegh,[2] foreshadowed the great colonial activities of the seventeenth century. Agriculture received a new impulse when in 1598 parliament passed an act forbidding enclosures for pasture purposes.[3] Sheep rearing consequently declined in importance, tillage was encouraged, with better farming methods the soil became more productive, and new staples like hops and potatoes were introduced. As wealth increased, so did luxury and display, and corruption and poverty became common. The poor and the vagabonds were dealt with once more in the famous poor laws of 1597 and 1601,[4] which extended the law of 1563 and brought into more systematic form all the earlier measures, throwing the care of the poor on the parishes and the execution of the laws on the justices of the peace. In all these respects we see not only important advances in industry and the social life of the kingdom, but we see that matters like coinage, industry, wages, apprenticeship, hours of labor, charity, and poverty, were now regulated and controlled by the state.

More noteworthy even than the changes in material condi-

[1] Lee, No. 143. For characteristics of Elizabeth, see Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group I, pp. 1–9; Group IV, pp. 26–32.

[2] Lee, No. 147.

[3] Prothero, pp. 93–96.

[4] Prothero, pp. 96–105.

tions were the advances in intellectual and literary life. There is no better witness to the reality of the new national feeling in England than the expression which it found in poetry, prose, and the drama during the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign. For this there had been a long preparation. In the towns the level of education had been steadily rising for two centuries, and free grammar schools, founded by the trading classes, had spread widely a knowledge of reading and writing, and made it common among the people. But no one could have anticipated the richness of the English Renaissance when it finally came. Beginning in poetry with Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, in drama with Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*, in prose with Ascham's *The Schoolmaster*, Lyly's *Euphues*, and Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, it reached its highest form in the plays of Shakespeare. There is no opportunity here to discuss the genius of these men or the growth of a national drama. The Elizabethan literature, like the deeds of Elizabethan seamen, stands as an expression of national confidence and enthusiasm, of national independence and self-reliance. A period of courage and hope in the life of a nation cannot but be rich in great creative works of literary genius.

The same confidence in the future is seen in the interest taken by Englishmen in their own history. Matthew Parker was almost the first to edit historical texts relating to early English history; Holinshed and Stow were among the first to write chronicles in English; while Elizabeth herself was the first sovereign to begin a collection, in systematic form, of national documents, a work which resulted a century later in the publication of Rymer's *Fœdera*, and is represented to-day by the great *Calendars of State Papers*, an index to the splendid collections of official materials which England possesses for the writing of her own history.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER X. — The most authoritative history of Henry VII is Busch's *England under the Tudors*, Vol. I, *King Henry VII*

(1895). This is the only volume of that important work which has been translated into English. There is an excellent life in brief compass by Gairdner, in English Statesmen Series, *Henry VII* (1889). Bacon's *Life of Henry VII* (in Spedding's edition of Bacon's *Works*, Vol. II) has almost the value of a contemporary, and is well worth examining. Owing to the publication of official documents, the period after 1509 has been largely rewritten; but as yet the results have not been embodied in popular form. In 1856 and 1862, two works of very different character appeared: Froude issued the first volume of his *History of England*, 1509–1603, completed in twelve volumes in 1867; Brewer edited the first volume of the *Calendars of State Papers*, which began this invaluable series of nearly three hundred volumes. Froude's work is brilliantly written and possesses unmistakable value; but it is inaccurate in many particulars, and in its justification of Henry VIII has not won the approval of scholars. Its defects appear in exaggerated form in the same author's *Catherine of Aragon* (1891). Brewer's volumes opened a new era in the study of the Tudor period, and the prefaces were published separately by Gairdner in two volumes, entitled *The Reign of Henry VIII* (1884). About the same time, Friedmann's *Anne Boleyn*, 2 vols. (1884), a remarkable study based on unused evidence, made its appearance; and on the ecclesiastical side Dixon began his *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction*, the sixth volume of which, carrying the subject to 1570, was issued in 1902. From the material thus far presented, Moberly wrote *The Early Tudors* (1887), a rather colorless work, in the Epoch Series, and Bishop Creighton his *Wolsey*, in the English Statesmen Series. With the death of Brewer, Gairdner became the editor of the State Papers of Henry VIII's reign, and has been the chief authority upon the period since that time. Apart from the prefaces to his volumes in the *Calendars*, his most important publications are "New Light on the Divorce of Henry VIII," in the *English Historical Review* for 1896, 1897; and Volume IV (1902), in *A History of the English Church*. Pollard has written *Henry VIII* (1902) in the Goupil Series, and *Thomas Cranmer* in Heroes of the Reformation Series (1903); and Merriman has issued the *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell* (1902), a work of merit. On the dissolution of the monasteries, see Gasquet's *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, 2 vols. (1888, 1889; new edition, 1899), a work which put the study of that subject on a new foundation and demonstrated the untrustworthiness of Froude's account. Gasquet, Gairdner, and Dixon are the writers to be consulted on this topic. An article in the *English Historical Review*, "Archbishop Warham's Visitation of the Monasteries in 1511," should also be examined.

For Edward VI, Froude's account is far from satisfactory, though it

is free from the warped judgments that characterized the treatment of Henry VIII. The best critical sketch of Protector Somerset is Pollard's *England under Protector Somerset* (1900), which ardently and justly defends Somerset's character and motives. Gasquet's *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* (1890) is a very valuable study of origins; and Leach, in his *English Schools at the Reformation* (1897), has successfully called in question the traditional view of Edward VI as an educational benefactor. On the social discontent of the reign, the references given in the text are adequate. For Scotland, Hume Brown should be used; and for all that relates to Ireland, Bagwell's *Ireland under the Tudors*, 3 vols. (1890), is in every way excellent. For the Netherlands, see Putnam's *William the Silent*, 2 vols. (1895), Heroes of the Nations Series.

For the reign of Mary, the works of Froude, Gairdner, and Dixon are satisfactory. Stone's *The Reign of Mary the First* (1901), though written by an apologist, has the merit of bringing to light a considerable amount of new evidence, and of showing the injustice of many of the older views of Mary's character. The printed material for Mary's reign is as yet much less complete than that for the reign of Henry VIII.

For Elizabeth, Creighton's *Age of Elizabeth* (1889), Epoch Series, and Beesly's *Elizabeth* (1892), in the Statesmen Series, are excellent, although the latter presupposes some previous knowledge of Elizabeth's reign. Creighton's *Queen Elizabeth* (1896), written for the Goupil Series, has been published without the illustrations at a reasonable price. Martin A. S. Hume's volumes on the period, though having faults due to the rapidity of preparation, are invaluable for a study of Elizabeth's foreign relations and policy: *The Courtships of Elizabeth* (1896); *The Year after the Armada* (1896); *Philip II of Spain* (1897); *The Great Lord Burghley* (1898); and *Treason and Plot* (1901). For the Jesuit movements, Simpson's *Life of Campion* is a very able work, as is also Law's *Historical Sketch of the Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Elizabeth* (1900). For the Puritans on the Continent, see Hind's *Making of England*. The naval history of the reign has received elaborate and valuable treatment by Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, 2 vols. (1898); *The Successors of Drake* (1900); and by Oppenheim in his *History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Connection Therewith, 1509–1550* (1896). On the constitutional side, Hallam's *Constitutional History of England* is still useful, but for Elizabeth and James I should be supplemented by the preface to Prothero's *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents* (1894). No special study beyond that contained in the works of Cunningham, Warner, R. E. Prothero, and in the chapters of *Social England*, Vol. III, has

been made of social and industrial history under the Tudors. For commerce, a useful work is Williamson's *The Foreign Commerce of England under the Tudors* (Stanhope Essay prize, 1883) ; and for the poor laws, see an excellent study, Leonard's *Early History of English Poor Relief* (1900). Dowell's *A History of Taxation and Taxes*, 4 vols. (1884, 2d ed. 1888), and Kenyon's *The Gold Coins of England* (1884), and the same author's edition (1887) of Hawkins's *The Silver Coins of England*, deal with aspects of the financial situation. Shaw's *History of Currency, 1292–1894* (1895), may also be mentioned.

CHAPTER XI.

THE STUARTS AND PARLIAMENT.

231. England in 1603. — As long as England was in danger from outside attack, the people forgot their religious and political differences and united for the defence of their land. But when the pressure had been removed by the victory over the Armada in 1588, they began to think about these differences and to define their religious and political views more exactly. The Anglicans, led by Whitgift and afterward by Bancroft and Laud, gave more exact form to their doctrine and their church organization, and drew farther and farther away from the Presbyterians and the Independents. During the next forty years these religious parties became more hostile to each other. On the political side the attitude of the people toward their sovereign was undergoing a change. The middle class, merchants, traders, and lawyers, had come to the front, and not only was this class influenced by new interests, such as those of trade and commerce, but it was actuated by new ideas which had come from the Renaissance and the Reformation. The representatives of this middle class were taking the lead in the House of Commons. This house in the older days of the Lancastrians, when parliament had seemed to be very powerful, had been always subordinate to the House of Lords. But now it was to assume an independent position and to take up the struggle with monarchy, in order to see whether in the king or in the representative of the people lay the final authority in matters of government.

The people of England had accepted the absolutism of the Tudors because they knew that a strong monarchy was needed

to raise the kingdom to a position of political and religious independence. After 1588, England had attained this position and an absolute monarch was no longer required, as it had been in the days of Henry VII and Henry VIII. During the last years of Elizabeth's reign parliament had become restless, and had occasionally expressed its dissatisfaction with Elizabeth's methods of governing. As long as the queen lived, however, the nation remained loyal to the sovereign whose reign had brought it peace and prosperity. But neither parliament nor nation were willing to yield so submissively to the wishes of her successor.

232. James I (VI of Scotland). — James I, son of Mary Queen of Scots, was Elizabeth's successor, and the man called upon to face this difficult situation in 1603. His right to the throne was based not on parliamentary act[1] nor on any other title than that of heredity. It has commonly been supposed that Elizabeth on her death-bed named the king of Scotland as her successor, but that statement is no longer thought to be entitled to credit. From his birth James had lived in Scotland and knew nothing of the English except by hearsay. He had not been particularly successful there, and would never have been selected as king of England because of any special qualifications that he had shown himself to possess. He was good-natured, fond of peace, and opposed to extremes of any kind. Probably at heart he was a coward. He was learned in his way, a poet, a writer on theological and other questions, and, in his own opinion, an authority upon a good many of the troubled questions of the time.[2]

But unfortunately he had not the qualities of a ruler such as England needed if she were to go forward increasing her prosperity and influence at home and abroad. He was conceited, too often dogmatic, and very easily angered if any one

[1] Parliament simply recognized his title; Adams and Stephens, No. 181.

[2] For characteristic traits of James I, see Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group V, pp. 33–42.

opposed him. He never was able to take a large view of any dispute, and his judgment was often influenced by petty details. More serious still, he did not understand the new spirit of the English people, and had none of Elizabeth's sympathy and tact; none of her instinctive sense of what the people wanted. He was obstinate, never knew how to yield at the right time, and looked on one who differed with him as an enemy.

More important still were his views on kingship. He had been born a king and had well-developed ideas of the royal prerogative. He believed that the king's powers were from God, and that his right to rule came from God alone. This belief led him to take a high stand regarding his kingly rights, and to assert, often very loudly, that he was above parliament and was not bound by the will of that body or the laws of the land. This doctrine, which was that of the Tudors, and it may be added, of kings generally at that time, was accepted as the true theory of kingship by the majority of the English and Scottish people.[1] It was only after this principle had been abused by James's successor that the real conflict between the rights of the king and rights of parliament, that is, between monarchy by divine right and monarchy limited by law, broke out. During the reign of James serious trouble was avoided, and the king, though never popular, was on the whole not disliked.

233. Attitude of James toward Puritans and Roman Catholics. — Each of the extreme parties, Puritans and Roman Catholics, looked forward with expectation to the coming of James, because it was known that he did not sympathize with the persecutions of Roman Catholics and Dissenters permitted by Elizabeth during the last years of her reign. But James very soon let it be known that he proposed to uphold the established church. While on his way from Scotland to London,

[1] Lee, Nos. 149, 150. For an excellent historical presentation of this doctrine, see Figgis, *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings* (1896), a work that every student of the Stuart period should read.

the Puritans presented to him a petition, called the Millenary Petition,[1] because a thousand clergymen were supposed to have signed it. In this petition they asked for certain moderate changes in the service and the practices of the church. In answer, James summoned a conference at Hampton Court, where representatives of the Anglicans and the Presbyterians had a lengthy debate. But the discussion only aroused in James himself a controversial spirit, and he abruptly dismissed the disputants saying, "If this is all that they (the Presbyterians) have to say, I will make them conform themselves or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse." From this time forward the Puritans had little to expect from the king.[2]

Toward the Roman Catholics, James showed himself more tolerant. He did not like the penal laws passed under Elizabeth, and remitted many fines imposed for not attending the parish churches. In his opening speech to parliament in 1604,[3] he declared in favor of moderating these laws; but that body, instead of doing as the king wished, made the laws increasingly severe. It is possible that James would have executed the laws with mildness had not two or three plots at the beginning of his reign destroyed all hope of toleration.

The Cobham Plot, said to have been planned to abduct the king and place Lady Arabella, niece of Lord Darnley, on the throne, is chiefly famous because Sir Walter Ralegh was implicated, though whether justly or not is uncertain. Ralegh was sentenced to death, but was reprieved by the king, and remained twelve years in the Tower. More famous still, and scarcely better understood, is the Gunpowder Plot of 1605.[4]

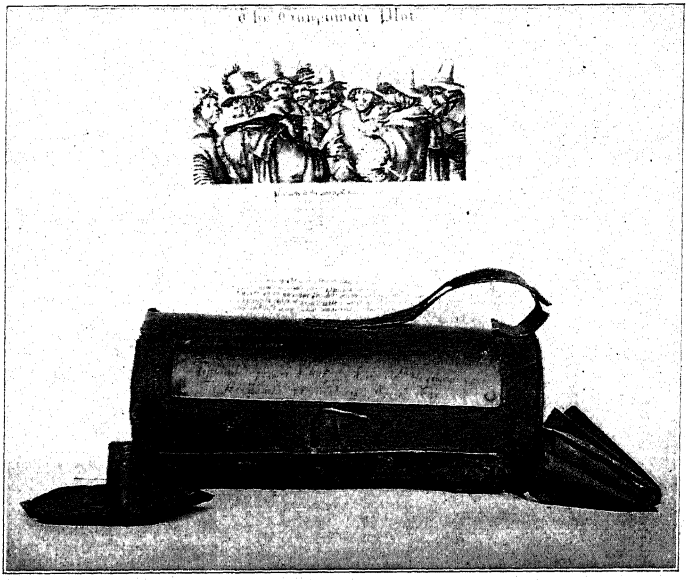
[1] Prothero, p. 413; Gee and Hardy, No. LXXXVIII; Lee, No. 151.

[2] Compare Gee and Hardy, No. LXXXIX; Colby, No. 69; Kendall, No. 69.

[3] Prothero, pp. 283–284.

[4] Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group VI, pp. 43–47. The character of the Gunpowder Plot has been recently under discussion. Father Gerard, in *What was the Gunpowder Plot?* denying the traditional story; Gardiner, in *What the Gunpowder Plot Was* (1897), endeavoring in part to uphold it.

This was a plot to blow up the houses of parliament, by means of gunpowder placed in the cellar vaults, and so destroy the king, his sons, and the members of both houses. The traditional story has it that one of the conspirators, hoping to save a cousin, Lord Monteagle, member of the House of Lords,



GUY FAWKES' LANTERN.

The poster behind the lantern contains a picture of the conspirators (beginning at the right, John Wright, Catesby, Guy Fawkes, Percy, Thomas Winter, Christopher Wright, Robert Winter, and a servant), a description of each, and a facsimile of the letter to Lord Monteagle. It is a copy of a very rare contemporary print. The lantern was presented to Oxford University by Robert Heywood in 1641.

wrote him a warning letter, which Monteagle sent to the king. The cellars were searched and one Guy Fawkes was found guarding the powder. The government made a great deal of the plot, encouraging the general suspicion that it was part of a great Roman Catholic conspiracy. That it was so, has, how-

ever, never been proved; but the immediate results were all that parliament could have desired. Fawkes and others were cruelly executed, and the penal and recusancy laws were made much more severe. From this time toleration for Roman Catholics became impossible, and the hatred of them felt during the century that followed may be traced to the impression that the Gunpowder Plot left on the minds of the English people.

234. Quarrel of James with his First Parliament (1603–1610).— James, at the very beginning, had come into conflict with parliament over the question of the treatment of the Roman Catholics, and during his entire reign he was constantly quarrelling with it. No serious outbreak, however, occurred. On June 20, 1604, the House of Commons took occasion, in a strongly worded apology,[1] to state the rights and liberties of English subjects and to enumerate the fundamental privileges of the House. To understand this document, says Gardiner, is to understand the causes of the success of the English Revolution.[2] This apology had been called out by an attempted interference of the king with the right of the House to decide in cases of disputed elections.

During the next few years other difficulties arose. Of these the most famous was the Bate case in 1606. For James, as for Elizabeth, the income of the sovereign was insufficient, and in the case of the former, court extravagances made the matter worse. Parliament, out of touch with the king, was not particularly liberal. James retained a duty, imposed by his predecessor, on currants imported into England. The way of it was this: the Levant Company had paid Elizabeth £4000 for the monopoly of the currant trade, and for the privilege of taxing all merchants trading in currants who were not of the company. When the company dissolved in 1601, the crown, in order not to lose the £4000, continued the tax that the company had

[1] Kendall, No. 70

[2] Prothero, p. 286; Gardiner, *History of England* (1603–1642), Vol. I, p. 186.

levied. One John Bate refused to pay this on the ground that it was illegal, but the judges of the Court of Exchequer decided in favor of the king.[1] This particular case, which was decided on its merits, would not have led to trouble had it not been that the king claimed the entire right to impose new duties, and in 1608 issued a commission to his treasurer, Robert Cecil, stating this claim.[2] In 1609 James raised money by levying a feudal aid when his son Henry was knighted.[3] The outcry against this act was so great that parliament, after long negotiation, agreed to buy the king's feudal rights for £200,000.[4] But the bargain fell through, and it was not until 1661 that the old rights were finally abolished.

235. Policy of Peace Abroad. — The hostility of parliament toward the Roman Catholics and its suspicion of King James were increased at the beginning of the reign by Cecil's determination to revive his father's policy and to bring to an end the war with Spain. On August 19, 1604, a treaty between England and Spain was signed in London. This treaty was very unpopular, partly because of the prevailing hatred of Spain, and partly because in signing it the English government seemed to be deserting the Dutch, who were still struggling with Spain. "God help our good neighbors in Holland and Zealand!" was the cry of the English people on hearing of this treaty; and it is said that on the day the peace was proclaimed, prayers were offered in the pulpits of London for the success of the Dutch. But in 1608 a truce was effected between Philip III and the Dutch, which brought the long war to an end and prepared the way for the complete independence of Holland.

Until his death, in 1612, Cecil controlled the policy of the king, which was consistently one of peace. In 1610 he entered into an alliance with Henry IV of France. In reality, this

[1] Prothero, pp. 340–361; Adams and Stephens, No. 184.
[2] Prothero, p. 353.
[3] Prothero, p. 355, Lee, No. 152.
[4] Prothero, pp. 295, 299.

was an alliance of England, France, the Netherlands, the German Protestants, Venice, and Savoy against the house of Hapsburg and the Emperor Rudolf, for the purpose of separating Spain from Germany, and of destroying the dominance of the house of Hapsburg in Europe. Two years later, James entered into a treaty with the German Protestants, promising aid against the emperor and the Catholic party in Germany in case of need. This agreement was followed in 1613 by the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to the son of Frederick IV, elector of the Palatinate and the head of the Protestant Union in Germany.[1] Thus James seemed to stand in close relations with the Protestants in Germany and Holland, and with the Catholic powers, Spain and France. This anomalous position led to serious complications at a later time.

236. Commerce and Colonization. — But the greatest interest of the period, so far as affairs outside of England were concerned, lay not in treaties with European states, but in the expansion of commerce and the beginnings of settlement in America. Companies which, at the close of the preceding century, had been organized for the promotion of commerce had taken the place of private individuals, who in the older days had traded on their own account. The oldest of these companies was that of the Merchant Adventurers, which had been incorporated in 1564 and the trade of which had now become limited to the Netherlands and countries adjoining. But new companies entered the field, and were duly chartered by the crown. Among others were the Muscovy Company, trading with Russia; the Levant Company, trading with Turkey, Syria, and Asia Minor; the Prussian or Eastland Company, trading with the lands along the Baltic; and, most important of all, the East India Company, trading with India, Persia, Arabia, and the Spice Islands. Other companies also were chartered after 1600.

[1] Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group VII, pp. 47–54.

Such companies as these, having a monopoly of trade, were looked upon at this time as public benefits, inasmuch as they not merely made money for themselves, but also promoted the welfare of the state by taking out manufactured goods and bringing back coin or raw materials to the kingdoms. Each company had a charter, and was organized with a governor, a deputy governor, a council, and a general court of all the members of the company. By means of these companies of merchants, trade with all parts of the world increased, and became a matter of so much interest to King James that he extended the privileges of the companies and appointed committees at home to look after trade and commerce.

But not only for trade were companies organized. In 1606 two companies, the London Company and the Plymouth Company, were organized for purposes of colonization. Their charters authorized them to make settlements in North America, and the London Company started a settlement at once at Jamestown in Virginia. After many struggles, the Jamestown colonists began to prosper, and to them is due the credit of having founded the first permanent English settlement in the New World. For the first seventeen years of its career the colony was threatened with interference from Spain, who considered its establishment below latitude 41° an invasion upon her territory. Not until 1624, when King James took Virginia under his protection and reversed his policy toward Spain, was the safety of the colony secured. The East India Company began the founding of a colonial empire for England in the East; the London Company began the establishment of a colonial empire in the West; and to both James I contributed all that he could.

By a new policy of settling English and Scottish colonists in Ulster in Ireland, James transformed that country into a prosperous Protestant district. But the remainder of the land still continued to be tribal, hostile, and strongly Roman Catholic, and the problem of how to manage Ireland was as far from a solution as ever.

237. The Spanish Policy of King James. — After 1612 a change took place in the character and policy of the king. In that year Cecil died, and also the king's eldest and ablest son, Prince Henry. James, always susceptible to the influence of favorites, now took new advisers, whose methods added nothing to the popularity of the king or of his court. The first of these men, Robert Carr, not only encouraged the extravagance of the king and involved him in new financial troubles, but also was connected with serious scandals at court. Carr's immoral conduct brought down upon him the disfavor of the rigid Puritans, and eventually led to his downfall in 1616. The second favorite, George Villiers, later duke of Buckingham, took the place of Carr, and was the trusted adviser, not only of King James, but afterward of his son, Charles I.



SIR WALTER RALEGH.

Behind Carr and Villiers was working a powerful pro-Spanish party, the leaders of which were the Spanish ministers. James came very much under the influence of the most shrewd and sagacious of these men, Gondomar, who, like others of his party, had given up all idea of conquering England by force, and were working persistently to restore the influence of Spain in England by intrigue. Gondomar believed that Protestantism was not deeply rooted in England and might gradually be got rid of, especially if he could separate James from the Protestants on the Continent. At first he was successful; for James, angry with the Dutch because they were getting control of the whale

fishery and the spice trade in the East, was willing to affront them, and agreed to a marriage between his son Charles and the Spanish Infanta.

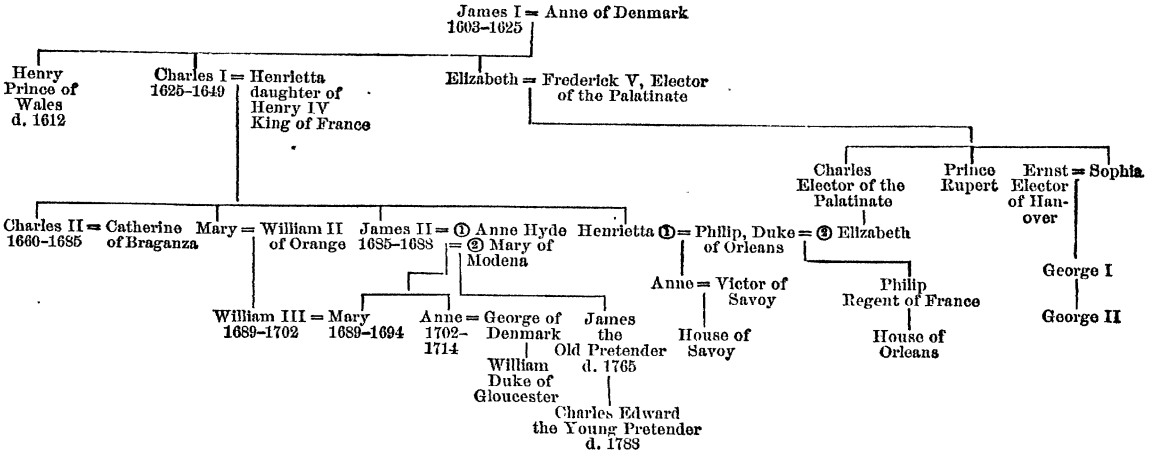
Just at this time Ralegh, who had been in prison for twelve years, experimenting in chemistry and writing a history of the world, proposed to lead an expedition to Guiana to find a mine of gold, of which he had heard in a former expedition. James let him go, on the express condition that he should avoid all conflict with the Spaniards. Unfortunately, Ralegh not only failed to find the mine and returned without gold, but during his absence he fought with the Spaniards and burned a Spanish town. Gondomar demanded that he be given to Spain for punishment, and though James would not consent to this request, he had Ralegh executed under the old sentence of 1603. Thus Ralegh fell a victim to Spanish vengeance and to King James's short-sighted policy of maintaining at all costs the alliance with Spain.

238. The Spanish Marriage. — With Cecil no longer to guide him, James soon found himself in a hopeless tangle, in all that concerned foreign affairs. Notwithstanding its unpopularity in England, he persisted in his plan of marrying his son to the Spanish Infanta, whose dowry he needed to pay his debts. In 1613, as we know, the daughter of James had married Frederick of the Palatinate, who, on the death of his father, became Frederick V and also head of the Protestant Union of Germany. James would naturally be expected to support his son-in-law; but if his son should marry a Spanish princess and circumstances should arise placing Frederick V and Spain on opposite sides in a great struggle, the king of England might find it difficult to know what to do.

It was in this position that James found himself when the Thirty Years' War broke out in 1618.[1] The Bohemians,

[1] On the Thirty Years' War, see Gardiner's *Thirty Years' War* (Epoch Series, 1889), and Henderson's *Short History of Germany* (1902), Vol. I, Chaps. XVII, XVIII; Wakeman's *Europe, 1598–1715* (Periods Series, 1894), Chaps. IV, V.

THE STUARTS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS.



in whose kingdom the first conflict took place, invited Frederick to be their king; but were he to accept the crown, he would virtually declare war against Austria, who had a hereditary claim to Bohemia, and whose archduke was emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Frederick applied to his father-in-law; but James, vacillating, could not nerve himself to give a straightforward answer, because he was afraid of the effect of such an answer on Spain. Frederick, trusting in aid from James, accepted the crown. But he was beaten at the White Mountain by the imperial forces in 1620, driven from Bohemia, and then had to see his own state, the Palatinate, invaded by the enemy.

James was compelled to make the restoration of the Palatinate one condition of the Spanish marriage; for it was clear that he could not marry his son to a Spanish princess while the Spaniards were helping the imperial troops to devastate possessions of his son-in-law. Inasmuch as the Spanish on their side were making as their chief condition the restoration of Catholicism in England by royal mandate, it is evident that the chances for the marriage were few.

The negotiations were continued, however, and in 1623 Prince Charles and the duke of Buckingham went to Madrid to complete the marriage treaty.[1] The question was debated in the Spanish Council, where it was decided that to restore the Palatinate was to break with the emperor and could not be done. Charles returned to England unmarried, and James, angry because of the failure of his schemes, at once made new plans. Hoping by means of an alliance with France to recover the Palatinate, he turned from Spain and completely reversed his former policy, by seeking the hand of the French princess, Henrietta Maria, for his son, Prince Charles.[2]

239. Relations of James with Parliament: Financial Difficulties. — During this period James was hopelessly in debt, and, as we

[1] Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group VIII, pp. 55–60.
[2] Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group IX, pp. 61–66.

have seen, one reason for his friendly attitude toward Spain was the belief that a Spanish dowry would relieve him of some of his troubles. In 1614 he had been compelled to summon a second parliament. But as that body wished to discuss what it considered illegal taxation, impositions, and the like, before granting the king more money, James dismissed it at once. This parliament was called the Addled Parliament, because it did not pass a single measure. In the same year James tried to raise money by benevolences, or forced loans, first from the cities and rich merchants and afterward from the people generally.[1] Many protests were raised against the scheme, and a certain Oliver St. John, a gentleman of Marlborough, refused to make a loan, and charged the king with breaking his coronation oath. St. John was in consequence sentenced to fine and imprisonment, though the sentence afterward was remitted.[2] Inasmuch as the Addled Parliament had passed no measures, James ruled practically without parliament from 1611 to 1621, and went on extending his expenditures and adding to his debts. He was upheld in his claims of prerogative by the Privy Council, the House of Lords, the bishops, and the courts of law. Chief Justice Coke, who refused to subordinate the independence of the judicial bench to the absolute power of the king, was removed in disgrace from his position,[3] and shortly afterward Francis Bacon, a defender of the royal prerogative, became lord chancellor.

So complicated had foreign relations become by 1621 that James hoped a third parliament, were it called, would support him in his defence of the Palatinate. And at first this body consented to make him a grant of money. But James had no real intention of undertaking war; and thereupon the parliament began to find fault with him. The king reprimanded it sharply for meddling "with anything concerning government

[1] Lee, No. 153.

[2] Gardiner, *History of England, 1603–1642*, Vol. II, pp. 269–270.

[3] Gardiner, *History*, Vol. III, pp. 1–25.

or deep matters of state."[1] Parliament, in its turn, interpreted this action as an infringement on the right of freedom of speech, and made a vigorous protest, recording in its journal a statement that freedom of speech was a privilege of parliament.[2] Ten days afterward, James, having sent for the journal, tore out the offending page, and then dissolved parliament.[3] These events aroused great excitement in England and led to many expressions of bitterness and discontent. The Protest of 1621 supplemented the Apology of 1604, and both anticipated the struggle which was to be fought out under the successor of James, his less practical and less trustworthy son Charles.

240. Results of James's Rule. — King James died in 1625. His policy had everywhere proved a failure. In his desire for peace and the Spanish alliance he had sacrificed Ralegh, had refused to help his Protestant son-in-law in Germany, and had got into trouble with parliament, only in the end to marry his son to a French princess, and, in 1624, to declare war on Spain. By his views on monarchy and his tenacious adherence to his royal prerogative, he had turned parliament against him; and yet, in the end, had been forced to yield most of the points in dispute. Parliament successfully defended its privileges; secured the right to discuss affairs of state; overthrew monopolies;[4] and, by impeaching Sir Francis Bacon in 1621 for receiving bribes, made good the principle that the ministers of the king ought to be held responsible for their acts. When James died, it was evident that his successor would have to be a conciliatory and tactful man if he were to avoid a conflict with the suspicious and discontented representatives of the people.

241. Charles I. — Charles I was not the man to meet the situation. He was personally more pleasing than James; and the fact that his reign opened with war against Spain made him for the moment popular. But Charles, by descent,

[1] Prothero, p. 310.
[2] Prothero, pp. 311–315.
[3] Lee, No. 154.
[4] Adams and Stephens, No. 188.

was not an Englishman, and he never understood the English law or the English people. Gardiner, the historian of the Stuarts, says, "Born of a Scottish father and a Danish mother, with a grandmother who was half French by birth and altogether French by breeding, with a French wife, with German nephews, and a Dutch son-in-law, Charles had nothing in him in touch with that national feeling which no ruler of England can afford to despise."[1] Moreover, he had no great statesman to guide him. Buckingham was only a courtier; and neither he nor the king had the genius to be a leader of a nation. By their lack of statesmanship and ability they destroyed, for the moment, the faith of the people in the kingly office, and provoked a civil war, which, for the time being, checked the commercial and colonial expansion of England, and deprived her of her naval prestige.

242. Beginning of the Struggle with Parliament. — Before his accession, Charles had promised the parliament of 1624 that, in arranging the terms of his marriage with Henrietta Maria of France, he would not consider any proposition favoring the Roman Catholics of England. But when the marriage took place, May, 1625, it was found that he had broken his promise. Parliament desired the alliance with France, in order to carry on war against Spain, but it did not wish to pay the price of concessions to the Catholics. When, therefore, a new parliament was summoned, trouble at once began. Charles asked for a large grant of supplies, and parliament showed its want of confidence in the king and Buckingham, both by voting but a small amount of money for the war with Spain, and by settling upon the king the tonnage and poundage — that is, the customs duties — for one year only, instead of for life, as had been the custom hitherto.

The wisdom of parliament in so acting became apparent when the king sent his first important expedition against Spain. Buckingham believed that he could do what Drake

[1] *History of the Great Civil War* (1642–1649), Vol. II, p. 159.

had done thirty years before, — capture Cadiz and carry off a Spanish treasure ship. But both leaders and men were wanting; for the commander, Edward Cecil, was not a second Drake, and the sailors lacked the spirit of the earlier period. The Spanish treasure ship eluded the English; the English sailors, drunk with Spanish wine, refused to fight; and the expedition ended in inglorious failure.

Parliament at once impeached Buckingham. But the king refused to recognize their right, saying, "I must let you know that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you, much less such as are of eminent place and near me." Again the question was debated as to whether or not the king's ministers were responsible to parliament. By impeaching Buckingham, parliament maintained that they were; but the king, in his message, maintained that they were not, and immediately dissolved parliament (1626).[1]

243. Events leading to the Petition of Right. — The king's position was becoming exceedingly awkward. Charles had no money, for Parliament had been dissolved so hastily that a grant had not been made. Besides, having quarrelled with Louis XIII about the marriage treaty, he was in danger of becoming involved in war, not only with Spain, but with France also. He saw the need of desperate remedies, and between 1626 and 1628 used every device to raise money. He made illegal exactions of the customs revenues;[2] levied a forced loan of £300,000 to be repaid in eighteen months;[3] and planned a general assessment of all the people, just as if parliament had granted a subsidy. When the judges denied the legality of the loan, he caused them to be imprisoned; when individuals refused to pay it, he imprisoned them if rich, and if poor impressed them in the navy or quartered soldiers upon them.[4]

[1] Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution* (2d ed.), No. 3; Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group X, pp. 67–84.

[2] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 6. [3] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 7.

[4] Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group X, pp. 67–84.

Even these arbitrary methods failed to supply the king with money sufficient for his purposes. Charles was called upon to aid the German Protestants in their war against the Austro-Spanish house; but having no money, he was unable to send subsidies. Moreover, having quarrelled with France, he wished to aid the Huguenots, who were fighting for their political independence. But the expedition sent to La Rochelle, under Buckingham, in 1627, resulted more disastrously than had that to Cadiz. Thus the need of money to carry on the wars with France and Spain compelled the king to summon his third parliament (1628).

The new body was quick to seize its opportunity. Under the leadership of Wentworth and Chief Justice Coke, it at once appointed a committee of grievances, which drew up a declaration of the rights of the English people.

244. The Petition of Right.[1] — This famous document differs from the Apology in that it was drafted as a bill to be passed, and not merely as a statement of principles to be placed on record. It thus required the assent of the king as well as of parliament. When it was presented to Charles for his approval, he hardly knew what to do, for parliament was in a serious mood, and refused to grant supplies unless its grievances were redressed. Affairs were not going well abroad. Reverses had taken place in Germany, and the expeditions to succor La Rochelle had failed. To gain the subsidies that he so grievously needed, King Charles knew that he would have to submit; but he did so most unwillingly. At first he tried to evade the question by making a general promise. But the House of Commons refused to accept this and demanded his assent to the petition, threatening to impeach the duke of Buckingham if the king refused. The House of Lords, too, showed its sympathy with the Commons, and insisted that the king assent to the petition. The latter did not dare to

[1] Gardiner, *Documents*, Nos. 9, 10; Adams and Stephens, No. 189; Lee, No. 155.

resist both bodies, and on June 7, 1628, gave the desired approval.

The House of Commons had now gained a great victory. Taxing without the consent of parliament, imprisoning arbitrarily, billeting soldiers upon the inhabitants against their wills, and exercising martial law in time of peace were all declared illegal by the Petition. From this time forward the law of the land forbade the king or his government to do any of these four things. The joy of the people was everywhere manifest. "The steeples of the city churches rang out their merriest peals. As the dusk deepened into darkness, bonfires were lighted up amidst rejoicing crowds. Since the day when Charles had returned from Spain, no such signs of public happiness had been seen."[1]

245. The Parliament of 1629.—The passage of the Petition of Right marks the beginning of a great struggle for religious and constitutional rights. Yet at this early date an agreement might easily have been reached, for the best men in the House of Commons, such as Pym and Eliot, were anxious that king and parliament should work in harmony. But even before the close of the parliament of 1628 a question had arisen which showed that harmony was impossible. The king declared that he had the right to levy tonnage and poundage, that is, custom dues, without the assent of parliament; but parliament, resting its case upon the word "tax" in the Petition of Right, asserted that this would be a breach of the new law.[2]

A serious difficulty arose on January 20, 1629, when the members assembled for a new session. The king said that the Anglican bishops were the true interpreters of the Thirty-nine Articles, and that all people must accept their interpretation;[3] but the Puritan members of parliament denied that the bishops had any such authority. A deadlock ensued. Finally, when

[1] Gardiner, *History*, Vol. VI, pp. 309–310.

[2] Gardiner, *Documents*, Nos. 11, 12, 16; Adams and Stephens, Nos. 190, 191

[3] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 13; Gee and Hardy, No. XCI.

the king adjourned the house for the second time (March 2, 1629), a group of members, led by Eliot, Strode, Selden, Valentine, and Holles, held the speaker by force in the chair while a series of resolutions was adopted, as a kind of appeal to the country against the king and the bishops.[1] These resolutions declared that whoever should introduce "innovations" or should support either popery or Arminianism, or should uphold the king's right to levy tonnage or poundage without a grant by parliament, or should pay tonnage and poundage under these circumstances, should be declared "a capital enemy to kingdom and commonwealth."[2] Immediately after this defiant action, the king dissolved parliament, and sent the five leaders to the Tower. There, after a confinement of three years, Eliot died, a martyr to the cause of parliamentary liberty (November, 1632).

246. The Personal Rule of Charles I. — Charles, having discovered that he could not work with parliament, determined to get along without it. For eleven years he governed England in the way that seemed to him best. He stood alone, for Buckingham had been assassinated by a discontented officer named Felton, just before parliament had assembled in 1629. His government was not all bad, as has too frequently been concluded, for it accomplished a great deal that was good for England; but the methods were bad and illegal, and brought the work of the king and his advisers into discredit. Charles believed in a paternal government that should do all it could to benefit the people and the kingdom,[3] but at the same time he would not tolerate the interference of the people or their representatives with what he deemed his special rights as king.

[1] Kendall, No. 72.

[2] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 15; Adams and Stephens, No. 192.

[3] "Princes are to be indulgent nursing fathers to their people; their modest liberties, their sober rights, ought to be precious in their eyes. . . . Subjects, on the other side, ought, with solicitous eyes of jealousy, to watch over the prerogatives of a crown."—Wentworth's conception of the Constitution, in Gardiner, *History*, Vol. VII, p. 25. Sir Francis Bacon and many others of the time held the same views.

He considered all who did not agree with him or his methods as misguided or evil-minded persons, and believed it was his duty to bring their opinions into accord with his own. Such facts show how little Charles understood the history or temper of the English people.

The chief advisers of the king during this period were Wentworth and Archbishop Laud. Wentworth, who was the real author of the Petition of Right, had soon found himself out of touch with Eliot and the Puritans. Satisfied with the correction of the abuses named in the Petition, in 1628 he had given his support to the cause of the king. Laud, the representative of the high church party among the Anglicans, had come into favor with the king, and was guiding his ecclesiastical policy. Neither Wentworth nor Laud desired anything but the good of England; but each was intolerant and uncompromising, and insisted that his system be applied without regard for the opposition it met on every side. The good that they did has been forgotten, and only the evil remembered. They accomplished their purposes through the Privy Council, the Star Chamber, the Court of High Commission, and the Council of the North; and by the methods employed, made these bodies more hateful to the people than they had been in the days of Elizabeth.

247. The "Thorough" Policy of Wentworth and Laud. — Wentworth was made president of the Council of the North in 1628, and became a member of the Privy Council the next year. Having been appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1632, he at once applied his policy of "thorough"; that is, he undertook to reform the Irish system without regard for the private interests of any one. He attempted to bring order and efficiency out of chaos and corruption. He reorganized the army, suppressed pirates, enforced discipline, and encouraged manufactures and commerce. His motives were excellent, but his methods were questionable. He bullied the Irish parliament, fined juries that decided against him, abused Irish officials, and constantly interfered with the customs of the Irish

tribes, particularly in the matter of their lands. The result was that, though for seven years he gave Ireland peace and order, he destroyed every vestige of self-government, and on his withdrawal, in 1639, left the island seething with discontent. Wentworth had tried to demonstrate that an absolute ruler with good intentions is better than constitution, law, and local custom.

Meanwhile in England Laud was trying to do for the church what Wentworth was attempting to do for Ireland. Having definite ideas as to what the doctrine, ritual, and organization of the church should be, he was determined to force these ideas upon others. Inasmuch as he was a member of the Privy Council and sat regularly on the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, he was able to make these bodies the instruments of a religious tyranny. The king enlarged the powers of these courts at his pleasure, and through them Laud harried Puritans and Presbyterians and all who by word or deed differed with him. After 1633, when he was made archbishop of Canterbury, he became "thorough" in the strictest sense of the word. He deserves credit in that he restored order and decency in the churches and ennobled the ritual. But, on the other hand, he persecuted Puritan divines; imprisoned and mutilated writers like Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, who in their pamphlets



ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

From a copy of Van Dyck's painting at Lambeth.

attacked the stage, court life, and church ceremonial; and horrified Puritans generally by persuading the king to issue the declaration of sports, restoring Sunday amusements.[1] The excitement prevailing in England was intense; the emigration of Puritans to America increased; and those who remained might well have echoed the prayer in Bastwick's *Litany*, "From bishops, priests, and deacons, Good Lord, deliver us."

248. Financial Measures of the King. — Having no money by parliamentary grant, the king had to employ all sorts of financial expedients to raise it. He levied tonnage and poundage, but the returns from this source proved wholly insufficient. Therefore he revived old feudal obligations, and compelled every freeholder having land worth £40 a year to become a knight or, in case of refusal, to pay a fine. He sent commissioners to trace the boundaries of the "forests," and by enlarging these boundaries, compelled all whose lands fell within the new limits to pay large amounts for the release of their estates. He sold to incorporated companies monopolies of coal, soap, starch, iron, gunpowder, tobacco, salt, and the like, thus injuring legitimate trade and increasing the costs of living. By the knighthood fines he estranged the well-to-do gentry; by enlarging the forests he offended the nobility and men of quality; by the sale of monopolies he made the lot of the wage-earners more burdensome. The only classes not affected were the very poor and the unemployed. Both in Ireland and in England the government made exceptionally successful efforts to carry out the poor laws, and to relieve the poor from the oppression of the rich. The Privy Council enforced the law of apprentices, suppressed vagrancy, gave work to the unemployed, and protected the destitute. A competent writer says that during the period from 1631 to 1640, there was more poor relief in England than at any other time in English history.[2]

[1] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 17; Gee and Hardy, No. XCIII.

[2] Leonard, *Early History of English Poor Relief*, p. 256.

Finally Charles made a demand for ship-money, seeing in it "a spring and magazine that should have no bottom and an everlasting supply on all occasions." He caused a writ to be directed to the sheriff of every county in England, instructing him to provide a ship of war for the king's service, or in lieu thereof to pay a sum of money into the king's treasury.[1] The royal navy was small and in bad condition; it was rarely repaired or improved, and it was manned by men better fitted to be gardeners and barbers than sailors, and by officers hopelessly corrupt. Formerly, in time of war, it had been customary to levy ship money on the seaports; but the king's attorney-general, Noy, suggested that the practice be revived in times of peace. In 1634 the first levies were made on London and a few other ports; in 1635 a second levy was made on the inland counties; in 1636 a third; and in 1637 a fourth. There was grumbling, but the majority of those assessed paid the tax. In 1636, however, John Hampden, a wealthy gentleman of Buckinghamshire, resisted payment, and the case was tried in 1637 before the judges of the Court of the Exchequer. Seven decided for the king, five against.[2] Charles was delighted with the result, and continued to levy the tax; but it was ominous that the majority of judges was only two, and that in the minds of the people the defenders of Hampden had the better of the argument.

249. The Scottish Revolt. — After such a decision, parliamentary government in England seemed to be at an end, and in no year did its restoration appear less likely than in 1637. Nevertheless, in that year, a movement began in Scotland which was destined to destroy the system of government that the king, Wentworth, and Laud had so carefully built up. After 1603 Scotland and England had the same king, but separate parliaments; and, in 1636, Charles, as king of Scotland, had agreed to the extension of Laud's system into

[1] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 19; Adams and Stephens, No. 193; Lee, No. 156.
[2] Gardiner, *Documents*, Nos. 20, 21, 22; Adams and Stephens, No. 194.

that land. This act showed him to be a man of less wisdom than his father, who knew the temper of the Scottish people too well to tamper with their religion. The new liturgy roused the Scots to revolt. In March, 1638, all classes of the people — noblemen, barons, gentlemen, burgesses, ministers, and commons — signed the National Covenant, thereby supporting the reformed religion of Scotland, and declaring their detestation of all contrary religion or doctrine. They soon made it evident that they would fight, if need be, to defend the Covenant;[1] in fact, they went so far, in an assembly held in Glasgow, in November, 1639, as to abolish Episcopacy and the prayer-book altogether. The king, aroused by this defiant act, called Wentworth from Ireland to help coerce Scotland, at the same time creating him earl of Strafford (1640).



JOHN PYM.
After a portrait by C. Janssen in South Kensington Museum.

Strafford knew that Charles had neither army nor money, and was, therefore, in no condition to war against a nation like the Scots, roused in the present emergency to an extraordinary pitch of religious excitement. He therefore advised the king to call a parliament and throw the responsibility of a decision upon its members. The king, glad to be relieved of the responsibility, accepted the suggestion, and on April 13, 1640, convened the first parliament that had sat in eleven years.

[1] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 23. The best account of the relations of Charles I with Scotland will be found in Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, Vol. II, pp. 284–348; note especially pp. 304–305 for the signing of the Covenant.

But this body, led by John Pym, a Somersetshire squire, at once raised the question of redressing grievances before granting supplies, and in three weeks it was dissolved (May 5). Thereupon Strafford gave a new version of his policy of "thorough." "Go on vigorously," he advised the king, "loose and absolved from all rules of government. . . . You have an army in Ireland you may employ here to reduce this kingdom. Confident as anything under heaven, Scotland shall not hold out five months." This hasty and unfortunate remark was interpreted by the English people as a threat to bring over Irishmen to crush their liberties, and was destined to bring Strafford himself to the block.

In Scotland the policy of "thorough" failed. A Scottish army invaded England, entered Newcastle, and nearly captured York. The king called a council of peers, but received only the advice to summon another parliament.[1] There was nothing else for him to do. The Scottish army was in the northern counties. Strafford had not succeeded in forcing money from London, or even in borrowing it of Spain or the pope. People in the counties were resisting the payment of ship money; the apprentices and journeymen were rioting in London, and everywhere moderate men were fearing a Roman Catholic conspiracy. Under these circumstances were elected the men who, at Westminster, on November 3, 1640, assembled in parliament. A great crisis was at hand.

250. Reform Work of the Long Parliament. — The new assembly is famous as the Long Parliament. Few bodies have done greater deeds than this one, and few worse. Its members had come together with a grim determination to be, as Pym said, "of another temper than they were the last parliament;" determined not only "to sweep the house clean below, but to pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the tops and corners, that they might not breed dust and so make a foul house hereafter." They had resolved to accomplish

[1] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 24.

three things: (1) to release from prison those who had suffered from the king's arbitrary methods; (2) to punish the king's ministers and advisers; (3) to strengthen the constitution so that arbitrary rule would be impossible hereafter.

First of all, therefore, Prynne, Bastwick, Burton, and others were released from prison and welcomed to London by crowds of sympathizers. On November 11, Strafford was impeached and sent to the Tower;[1] and a month later Laud likewise was imprisoned. Others of the king's ministers were impeached, but escaped by fleeing to France. Six judges were imprisoned and all monopolists expelled. The charge of treason did not hold in the case of Strafford, for his acts had not been legally treasonable, inasmuch as they had not been directed against the king. The House of Commons, therefore, changed the bill of impeachment to one of attainder, which called for no trial and gave no opportunity to the accused to defend himself.[2] The Lords hesitated to pass the bill, but yielded when they learned that the king was negotiating with the English army in Yorkshire to march on London and rescue Strafford. To his shame, Charles himself submitted, and signed away the life of his minister, to whom he had given the promise, on his word as a king, that he "should not suffer in life, honor, or fortune."[3] On May 12, 1641, Strafford was executed on Tower Hill, in the presence of two hundred thousand persons. Laud, after remaining five years in the Tower, met the same fate at the hands of parliament in 1646.

In the meantime the amending of the constitution had begun. Fearing lest the king might cut short the present work by a prorogation or dissolution, and then endeavor to rule again without parliament, the House of Commons passed the Triennial Act, which ordered that no more than three years should

[1] Colby, No. 71, gives the first draft of the charges; compare Kendall, No. 76.

[2] See note 3, p. 212; Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 29; Adams and Stephens, No. 197.

[3] Lee, Nos. 158, 158 a, 158 b; Kendall, No. 77.

ever elapse without a summons of parliament.[1] It also provided that in case the king refused to issue writs summoning the members, the House of Lords should do so, and in case that body should refuse, the sheriffs in the counties and the mayors in the cities should hold elections without writs. If the sheriffs and mayors failed in their duty, the electors were to meet without further notice. Another act forbade the king to dissolve the existing parliament without its own consent.[2] Each act was duly signed by the king.

Finally, the parliament swept away the courts that the king had made so obnoxious during his period of personal rule: the Star Chamber, High Commission Court, the Councils of the North and of Wales. It made the levying of tonnage and poundage absolutely dependent on a parliamentary grant, prohibited further tampering with the forest boundaries, forbade the exacting of fees for knighthood, and declared ship-money unlawful.[3] In this work of reform the members acted with extraordinary unanimity and step by step brought the constitution of England nearer the form it bears to-day. The common law was placed above the king, and extraordinary courts of justice were permanently forbidden. These reforms represent the greatest and most important work of the Long Parliament.

251. Schism in Parliament. — As long as political questions only were discussed, all the members of the Long Parliament worked together in harmony to reform the constitution; but as soon as religious questions were brought forward, this harmony disappeared. The conservative members, whom we may call the Church party, led by Hyde, Falkland, and Culpeper, had coöperated in all constitutional changes thus far made. Preferring the Anglican system as it was, they were unwilling to tamper with the existing organization of the

[1] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 27; Adams and Stephens, No. 195.

[2] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 30.

[3] Gardiner, *Documents*, Nos. 31, 34–38; Adams and Stephens, Nos. 198–203; Gee and Hardy, No. XCIX.

church. The extreme Puritans, that is to say, the Presbyterians and Independents, led by Hazlerig, Cromwell, and Sir Harry Vane, were, however, not satisfied. They wished to abolish altogether the government of archbishops and bishops, "with all its dependencies, roots and branches." This phrase, which occurred in a petition supported by the extreme Puritans, gave them the name of the Root and Branch party.[1] In August, 1641, they tried to pass a root and branch bill abolishing Episcopacy. So heated was the controversy over this question of "reform" *versus* "abolition," that when parliament resumed its session in October, 1641, two definite parties were already forming in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords.

Two events increased the excitement created by the debates. In August the king had gone to Edinburgh, and rumors spread that he was planning to ally himself with the Scots in order to overthrow parliament. This report aroused deep anger among the Root and Branch men, and made them more than ever hostile to the royalist cause. In October came the report of a frightful massacre in Ireland, where Roman Catholics had joined with Celtic chiefs to drive out the Protestant settlers in Ulster. The report was enormously exaggerated, but for the moment it looked as if Ireland were lost to England forever. The Puritan leaders in parliament sought for the cause of the revolt and found it, as they thought, in the intrigues of the queen's court and the king's councillors. This conviction decided them to take a step which for some time they had had under consideration. If the nation were to guard against further plots of the king, it was necessary that parliament should more exactly define its position. Therefore, in a memorable sitting on November 8, a Grand Remonstrance, or appeal to the nation for support against the king, was presented for adoption.[2]

[1] Gee and Hardy, No. XCVII; Gardiner, No. 26, for the petition of the Londoners.

[2] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 43; Gee and Hardy, No. CII; Adams and Stephens, No. 204.

In this remonstrance all the members of parliament were called upon to commit themselves to the opinions of the extreme Protestants. The document, containing over two hundred paragraphs, summed up all the woes that the "Jesuited papists, the bishops, and the king's councillors" had brought upon the kingdom during the preceding fifteen years. As the remedy for these evils, it demanded, first, that the king should select councillors of whom parliament could approve; second, and more important still, that a synod of divines be called to reform the church.[1] The Church party might perhaps have accepted the first remedy, but it could not accept the second, because no Anglican would trust an assembly of Presbyterian and Independent ministers to model the church as it pleased. The debate began on the morning of November 22, and lasted far into the night. When finally the roll was called, it was found that the remonstrance had been carried by the narrow margin of eleven votes. The immediate effect was almost a pitched battle on the floor of the house. "Some waved their hands wildly in the air, others took their swords in their scabbards out of their belts." "I thought," wrote an eye-witness, "that we had all sat in the valley of the shadow of death."[2] For the Root and Branch party it was a critical moment and a great victory. "If the remonstrance had been rejected," said Cromwell, "I would have sold all that I had and never seen England any more." But it was also a deplorable victory, for in consequence the nation was divided into two camps, whose attitude toward each other became daily more hostile and irreconcilable. As a great historian says, "The Civil War was all the nearer for that night's work."

252. Arrest of the Five Members. — The Church party now went over to the side of the king, and in the following January Charles made Culpeper Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Falkland Secretary of State. With every month the excitement increased, and rumors were abroad that to save the crown

[1] *The Grand Remonstrance*, §§ 185, 197. [2] Colby, No. 72 A.

and the church, Charles was preparing to treat Pym and Hampden as Pym and Hampden had treated Strafford. That he had deliberately formed such a plan is doubtful, for it was his habit to act rather from impulse than design. Early in January he heard that the parliamentary leaders were resolved to impeach the queen as the cause of all the mischief. The chivalrous instincts of the king were aroused, and encouraged by the schism in parliament and the support received from the Church party in the House of Commons, he determined to impeach the leaders, who were not only trying to destroy the royal authority, but were about to insult the queen.

On January 3, 1642, he sent Attorney-general Herbert with the sergeant-at-arms to the House of Commons with orders to arrest Pym, the main author of the Remonstrance, and with him Hampden, Haslerig, Holles, and Strode, on the ground that they were seeking "to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom of England."[1] But this act, which was distinctly illegal, because the king had not the power to impeach any one, was vehemently resisted by the House, and the king's plan failed. At this crisis Charles committed an irretrievable blunder. On the following day, he went in person with four hundred soldiers to seize the men whom he could not impeach. Again the king's plan failed; for the leaders, having been warned in time, had made their escape. As Charles turned to withdraw, the members of the House whose rights he had ignored expressed their resentment by the cry of "Privilege!" "Privilege!"[2] It is probable that he had not intended to act treacherously, but he was hopelessly in the wrong, and had committed an act which not only destroyed parliament's faith in him, but rendered compromise impossible.

253. The Causes of the Civil War. — The attempted arrest of the five members was a sufficient cause for war, because it implied that the king was ready to use force, not only to intimi-

[1] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 46. [2] Kendall, No. 78.

date parliament, but also, if necessary, to get rid of it altogether. Parliament, on its side, was now forced to fight, not only to exercise that supreme authority which it demanded, but even to retain those rights and privileges which it had already won.

But the arrest was not the final cause of the war which followed. That is to be found in the struggle between the king and parliament for the control of the militia of the kingdom. Parliament, distrusting the king, passed a militia bill in March, 1642, which took from the king the appointment of the lord-lieutenant of militia and the governor of the fortresses of the kingdom. This bill the king refused to sign; and parliament, having transformed it into a parliamentary ordinance, determined to enforce it without the king's consent.[1] Two months later (May), Charles forbade the trained bands to obey parliament,[2] and issued commissions of his own, calling out the militia.[3] In July parliament, in its turn, appointed a committee of public safety, voted to raise an army, and named the earl of Essex as leader of its troops.[4] On August 22, the king raised his standard at Nottingham, and civil war began.

Though the attempted arrest of the five members and the militia bill were the immediate causes of the war, the real causes lay deeper. Behind these issues lay the greater issue — whether the king or the parliament should control the government in England. Technically, the king was right, for he was claiming his old powers; whereas the House of Commons was claiming powers that it had never exercised before. Morally, the king was wrong, for he had abused his powers; and parliament was right in attempting to restrain him. In June, 1642, six months after the attempted arrest of the members, the House sent to the king nineteen propositions as a kind of ultimatum, and in these demanded the right to control the appointment of ministers, councillors, and judges; to manage home affairs, foreign affairs, the army and the navy,

[1] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 50.
[2] Gardiner, *Documents*, Nos. 52, 54.
[3] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 55.
[4] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 56.

the church, justice, and, in short, all that concerned the government of the kingdom.[1] But no king of that day would willingly have consented to such a curtailment of his powers, unless he had been absolutely compelled to do so.

It is, however, quite possible that these political difficulties might have been arranged by a compromise had not the religious question complicated the situation. The dispute regarding political supremacy became tenfold more serious when its settlement threatened men with the loss of their religious liberties. One party, the Puritans, believed that the supremacy of the king meant the overthrow of its faith; the other, the Anglicans, that the supremacy of parliament meant the summoning of an assembly of divines to tamper with the liturgy and to reform the government of the Anglican church. No compromise between these views was possible.

254. The Opposing Forces: Royalists (Cavaliers) and Parliamentarians (Roundheads). — England was at this time divided into two camps. A great majority of the House of Lords and a third of the House of Commons followed the king. Outside of parliament, the bulk of the gentry and landowners, the cathedral cities, and the university centres, like Oxford and Cambridge, were on the side of the king; while the inhabitants of the towns, the manufacturers, merchants, and artisans, were on the side of parliament. Though exact lines cannot be drawn, we may say that socially the nobility were on one side, the freeholders and yeomanry on the other; that industrially the landowners were on one side, the commercial and trading classes on the other; and that geographically the west and north stood for the king, against the more thickly populated regions of the south and east, which supported parliament. Yet, in fact, the history of the war shows family divided against family, town against town, district against district. The war injured England economically and commercially; but it did not cripple her, for at no time was it accompanied with that savage

[1] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 53.

brutality which characterized the contemporary Thirty Years' War in Germany (1618–1648).

255. Opening of the War. — When war began, parliament had the advantage in money and resources, because it controlled the navy and the leading seaports and was supported by London and the rich manufacturing towns. But the king was at first successful, because he had on his side the cavaliers and men-at-arms, whose profession was that of fighting. The battle of Edgehill,[1] fought on October 23, 1642, resulted in defeat for the parliamentarians, and the advantage thus gained by the royalists was very slowly lost. Even in 1643, when Cromwell began to raise an army in the eastern counties, composed of "honest, godly men," led by captains of the same high character, victory was very slow in coming. Hampden was killed at Chalgrove Field in June, 1643,[2] and by September parliament was sufficiently discouraged to turn to Scotland for aid. In the Solemn League and Covenant[3] parliament made a bargain with the Scottish Presbyterians, by which in return for armed assistance it promised to establish, if possible, Presbyterianism in England. In fulfilment of their share of the bargain the Scots, in January, 1644, sent the earl of Leven across the Tweed with an army.

But the great mass of the Independents did not like this compromise with Presbyterianism, and Cromwell, in particular, was opposed to paying such a price for aid from Scotland. He advocated religious liberty,[4] and he disliked, not only the church system of the Presbyterians, but their intolerance also. From the time that parliament entered into the Solemn League and Covenant with Scotland may be dated the beginning of a separation between the Presbyterians and Independents.

256. The New Model Army. — The first decisive battle of the war was fought on July 2, 1644, at Marston Moor. On one

[1] Colby, No. 73. [2] Colby, No. 72 *B*.

[3] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 58; Adams and Stephens, No. 207; Gee and Hardy, No. CVII. [4] Kendall, No. 79.

side were the Scots, under the earl of Leven, the parliamentary army under Fairfax, and the cavalry of the eastern counties under Cromwell;[1] on the other were the royalists, led by Lord Byron and Prince Rupert, the king's nephew. The battle was long and for a time doubtful; but Cromwell's cavalry won the day by their splendid discipline and religious enthusiasm. The victory of Marston Moor gave to the parliamentarians the control of the region of the north.



OLIVER CROMWELL.
From an engraving by Bartozzi after a painting by Walker.

A more important result of the battle was the prominence it gave to Cromwell, who from this time forward labored to increase the efficiency of the army and to remedy the defects that had hitherto prevented success. Chiefly through his efforts, during the remainder of the year 1644 and the spring of 1645, an entire change was effected in the army organization. For the first time a regular army was created to take the place of the inefficient and untrained local levies. The soldiers were regularly paid, a rigorous discipline was introduced, and a high code of moral conduct was enforced. For officers Cromwell would not have politicians, gentlemen, or adventurers; he demanded men who were good fighters, and who were so strongly imbued with a love for the cause as not to be ready to make terms with the king after every failure. In accordance with his suggestion that no member of parliament should command in the army, both houses, after considerable

[1] Kingston's *East Anglia in the Civil War* (1897) is excellent for Cromwell's work in the eastern counties in 1642-1643.

debate, passed the Self-Denying Ordinance, on April 3, 1645.[1] Thus Cromwell, supported by parliament, was able to provide an army which was not only inspired with religious fervor, and was ready to fight with faith in God and its cause, but which was also well disciplined and splendidly led.[2]

It was none too soon that such a fighting force was got ready; for in Scotland there appeared for the king a new ally, who was carrying all before him. The fiery young earl of Montrose, at the head of his Highlanders, had beaten down the Presbyterian leader, Argyle, the head of the Campbells, and was winning victory after victory with lightning-like rapidity. The Scottish army was therefore needed to fight Montrose at home; and upon the New Model Army of Cromwell fell the brunt of sustaining the war in England. On June 14, 1645, this splendid praying and fighting force won the battle of Naseby and crushed out the last hope that the king may have had of ultimate success.[3] The war continued for a year longer, but ended with the surrender of Oxford to the parliamentarians, on June 24, 1646. Two years later fighting was resumed, but by that time the situation had changed. Therefore the causes and results of the second civil war were, as we shall see, essentially different from those of the first.

257. Growing Importance of the Independents and the Army. — After the Church party withdrew from parliament, the Presbyterians were in the majority. In the propositions of Oxford (February 1, 1643), Uxbridge (November 24, 1644), and Newcastle (July 4, 1646),[4] they had attempted to negotiate with

[1] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 63; Adams and Stephens, No. 209; Kendall, No. 80.

[2] Firth's *Cromwell's Army, a History of the English Soldier during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate* (1902), is the only account of an important subject, and a book that is absorbingly interesting.

[3] Kendall, No. 81.

[4] All these documents are given in Gardiner, *Documents*, Nos. 57, 61, 62, 66, 67, 68, 70; Gee and Hardy, No. CVI.


ENGLAND
1603–1903
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80
SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
Bristol Channel
Berwick
Alnwick
Carlisle
Durham
Whitby
Scarborough
Lancaster
Liverpool
Manchester
Leeds
Hull
Wakefield
Chester
Sheffield
Grimsby
Lincoln
Nottingham
Derby
Shrewsbury
Birmingham
Leicester
Stamford
Peterborough
Norwich
Yarmouth
Northampton
Bedford
Cambridge
Ipswich
Worcester
Hereford
Edgcott
Gloucester
Oxford
Hitchin
Colchester
Rye House
Chelmsford
Maldon
Cirencester
St. Albans
Chalgrove
Harnet
Reading
London
Greenwich
Windsor
Croydon
Rochester
Canterbury
Dover
Folkestone
Guildford
Newbury
Winchester
Salisbury
Southampton
Chichester
Brighton
Hastings
Exeter
Dorchester
Weymouth
Portsmouth
Torquay
Teignmouth
Exmouth
Dartmouth
Plymouth
Launceston
Truro
Penzance
Swansea
Cardiff
Bristol
Wells
Taunton
Barnstaple
Ilfracombe
Holyhead
Liverpool
Manchester
Leeds
Hull
Sheffield
Lincoln
Nottingham
Derby
Birmingham
Leicester
Peterborough
Norwich
Northampton
Bedford
Cambridge
Ipswich
Oxford
Gloucester
Hereford
Worcester
Shrewsbury
Chester
Wrexham
Stafford
Coventry
Warwick
Hitchin
Colchester
Chelmsford
Maldon
Rye House
Windsor
Reading
Newbury
Winchester
Salisbury
Southampton
Chichester
Brighton
Hastings
Dover
Folkestone
Canterbury
Rochester
Croydon
Guildford
Exeter
Plymouth
Torquay
Weymouth
Dorchester
Bristol
Gloucester
Oxford
Cirencester
Swansea
Cardiff
Carmarthen
Holyhead
Anglesey
Isle of Man
Isle of Wight
Scilly Isles
Longitude West from Greenwich
East

the king. In a series of measures passed in parliament they had attempted to transform the church. They had discarded the prayer-book and introduced the famous Westminster Catechism, and had ordered the abolition of Episcopacy and the establishment of Presbyterianism. But just as the Church party had given way to the Presbyterians, so now the latter were to fall before the more tolerant,[1] but more anti-monarchical, body of Independents, who, though a minority in parliament, were the dominant factor in the army.

With the close of the war and the failure of the Newcastle negotiations, the army came to the front and made itself master of the situation. To the consternation of the Presbyterian leaders, it refused to disband at the command of parliament, and at a meeting in a plain near Newmarket (June 4, 1647) issued the *Solemn Engagement of the Army*, saying that it would hold together until its demand of equal rights and common freedom for all should be granted. Thus the army was becoming not only democratic, but rebellious.[2] At Triploe Heath, in August, it declared that parliament was too absolute and ought to come to an end, and at the same time it voted to impeach eleven members, who were considered in the main responsible for the Presbyterian policy. Parliament, thoroughly frightened, yielded, and the eleven members withdrew from the House. At this juncture London rose in defence of the Presbyterian majority, and Cromwell, who had thrown in his lot with the army, rather from hostility to the methods of the Presbyterians than from sympathy with the democratic principles of the soldiers, occupied the city. The result was most important. Having excluded the royalists and compelled the Presbyterian leaders to withdraw, the old Long Parliament was fast losing its character as a representative body. Though it still called itself parliament, it repre-

[1] Compare Cromwell's letter in Kendall, No. 79.

[2] For an analysis of the democracy of the army, see Borgeaud, *Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England* (1894), Chaps. I, II, especially pp. 57–58.

sented the people of England only in name. The real power lay in the hands of Cromwell and the soldiers.

258. Negotiations of the Army with the King. — The leaders of the army now tried, in their turn, to negotiate with the king. In August, 1647, they drew up the *Heads of Proposals*,[1] in which they demanded: (1) the dissolution of the present parliament; (2) the summoning of regular parliaments every two years; (3) a fairer representation of the people in parliament; and (4) religious liberty. The leaders of the army, who had drafted the *Heads of Proposals*, were willing to leave more power in the hands of the king than were the rank and file. When, therefore, in September, the king refused to receive the *Heads of Proposals*, the common soldiers broke out against the leaders and demanded the right of stating their conditions. Cromwell, in order to remain their leader, yielded and allowed them to present their case in what is known as the *Agreement of the People* (October 19, 1647).[2] In this document they insisted that entire authority be placed in the hands of the people and that a government of a completely democratic character be established.

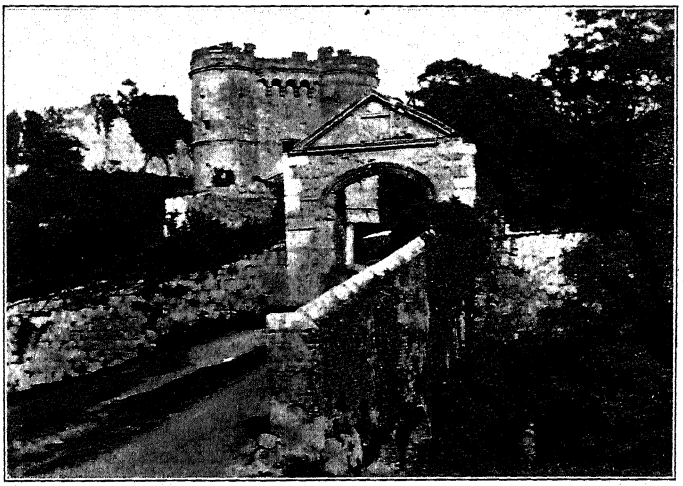
259. Second Civil War: Pride's Purge. — Just at this time further negotiations were prevented by the escape of the king from Hampton Court and his flight to Carisbrooke Castle (November 11–14, 1647). Charles, in his desire to promote discord among the Puritans, was at this time negotiating with the Scots, promising them religious concessions in return for military aid. His scheme failed; for not only was he at Carisbrooke as much a prisoner as ever, but his flight and the threatened danger of the Scottish invasion for the moment

[1] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 71.

[2] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 74; Borgeaud, *Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England*, pp. 66–90. The plan of government here presented was the same as that already established by the colonists of Connecticut in their "Fundamental Articles" (1639). The first and second "Agreement of the People" should be compared with the Connecticut "Orders"; MacDonald, *Select Charters*, No. 14. The principles of democratic government as worked out in American history can be found in all these documents.

united parliament and the army against him. Both bodies refused to have any dealings with the king and prepared for war.[1]

Party lines were no longer those of the earlier period; many who had fought against the king now went over to his side, fearing that the army wished to make changes in government much more radical than those of 1640–1641. Popular



CARISBROOKE CASTLE: GATEWAY, TOWER GATEWAY, AND RUINED KEEP BEHIND.

risings in the name of the king took place in Kent, Surrey, and Essex, where formerly parliament had been strong; and moderates joined with royalists, not so much to defend monarchy as to oppose the growing power of the army. London, aroused by the arrogance of the military leaders, was seething with discontent, and the fleet had already declared for the king. The royalists rose in Wales, and in July, 1648, the Scots sent an army across the frontier to aid them.

[1] For the vote of "No Addresses," see Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 79.

But the war was of short duration. Fairfax, in a battle at Maidstone, July, 1648, put down the Kentish revolt, and by August, Cromwell, who had undertaken the campaign in Wales, had not only starved the royalists in Pembroke Castle into surrender, but was hastening to the aid of the forces of the north. There he won the battle of Preston, against Hamilton and his Scottish army. Ten days later, August 25, 1648, Fairfax ended the war by the seizure of Colchester in Essex.

The importance of the second civil war in deciding the fate of the king can hardly be overestimated. It embittered the army against the king and made it fierce, implacable, and vindictive. It made the leaders resolve that "if ever the Lord brought them back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for the blood he had shed and the mischief he had done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations." Fearing lest parliament, in which the majority was still Presbyterian, was preparing to restore the king, they sent a remonstrance to that body, demanding that all negotiations should be broken off and the king punished. When parliament, paying no attention to the remonstrance, continued its negotiations, the army determined to take matters into its own hands. On December 6, 1648, it sent Colonel Pride to expel the Presbyterian majority from the House of Commons. Pride carried out his orders to the letter, and "purged" the House of the one hundred and forty-three Presbyterian members, leaving the Independents in control. Thus the Long Parliament ceased to be representative in any sense of the word, and under the name of the Rump Parliament, was only a partisan revolutionary committee, prepared to wreak its vengeance on the king.

260. The Execution of Charles I. — Cromwell and the other leaders of the army had finally become convinced of the necessity of adopting extreme measures. On January 6, 1649, the so-called parliament passed an act creating a high court of justice of one hundred and thirty-five persons, to try the king for attempting "to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws

and liberties of the nation, introducing in their place a tyrannical and arbitrary government."[1] Nearly half of the men named refused to serve, some of them denying the right of such a court to try any one. But the remainder, undeterred, took their places in Westminster Hall, on January 21, 1649, and proceeded with the trial. The king, denying the jurisdiction of the court, refused to plead.[2] After five days the commissioners voted that the king should die, and on the 27th the sentence was read.[3] On January 30 Charles was conducted to the scaffold erected outside of the banqueting hall of the palace of Whitehall, and there beheaded in the presence of the soldiers and of the citizens of London. That he deserved punishment no one can deny; but that he deserved such extreme punishment from a tribunal neither legal nor competent, certainly no one can affirm. The manner of his trial and his own composure and dignity at the scaffold raised him in the eyes of the people to the place of a martyr and overshadowed his real guilt.

261. Establishment of a Republic. — Immediately after the execution of the king, the Rump Parliament appointed a council of state[4] and voted to abolish the office of king, on the ground that it was unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to liberty.[5] It abolished also the House of Lords as useless, and dangerous to the people of England.[6] On May 19, 1649, to complete its work, it proclaimed the republic, or commonwealth;[7] and on the great seal placed the legend, "In the first year of freedom by God's blessing restored."

[1] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 80; Adams and Stephens, No. 210; see also Lee, No. 160.

[2] Lee, Nos. 161, 162.

[3] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 84; Adams and Stephens, Nos. 211, 212; Lee, No. 163. For extracts illustrating the trial and execution of the king, see Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group XI, pp. 85–92; Kendall, Nos. 82, 83.

[4] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 86; Adams and Stephens, No. 213.

[5] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 88; Adams and Stephens, No. 214; Lee, No. 164.

[6] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 89; Adams and Stephens, No. 215; Lee, No. 165.

[7] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 90; Adams and Stephens, No. 216; Lee, No. 166.

From the monarchy of 1640, England had passed through reform and civil war to the republic of 1649. But Cromwell and the Independent leaders had no intention of going further. They wanted no democratic republic. When the army presented to the Rump Parliament its constitutional scheme, — the *Agreement of the People*,[1] modified and expanded, — that body swept it aside without consideration. This plan, which provided for a representative parliament elected by all the people, is famous because it outlined a democratic government similar to certain governments that had already been established by representatives of the same party in Rhode Island and Connecticut, in America. But England was in no condition to make constitutional experiments; she needed a powerful governing body to meet the dangers that threatened her, and found it in the Rump Parliament, which consisted of about one hundred men, and had more actual power than ever had a Tudor or Stuart sovereign. But a government controlled by such an absolute body was bound to be a kind of despotism.

262. Dangers confronting the Republic. — The execution of the king had excited a feeling of horror both at home and abroad. Never had such an event occurred in the history of Europe. The republic had not a friend among the foreign powers, and at home it was opposed by the royalists on one side and the democrats, or Levellers, on the other. Ireland was in revolt; Scotland had already proclaimed Prince Charles, son of Charles I, as her king; and the royalists of England were preparing to coöperate with the Irish and Scots. The moment was critical, for an invasion from Ireland or Scotland might lead to the overthrow of the republic.

The republic first turned its attention to the uprising in Ireland. On August 13, 1649, Cromwell landed in Dublin, and the combination of Munster Protestants and Irish

[1] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 81; Gee and Hardy, No. CVIII: see ante, p. 366, note 2.

Catholics proved powerless in the presence of his well-disciplined and well-officered force. Drogheda was taken in September, Wexford in October, and in each case the garrisons were massacred without mercy. Cromwell justified these acts, not only as a revenge for the massacre of 1641 and as permissible under the rules of war, but also as a necessary act to save England from an invasion. The Irish held out for a year longer; but, meanwhile, "Ireland was devastated from end to end, and a third of its population perished during the struggle." Having subdued the Irish people by this brutal method, Cromwell set about restoring order and prosperity. He confiscated two-thirds of the Irish lands and settled English colonists upon them; he endeavored to suppress Roman Catholicism and to introduce Protestantism; and he undertook to administer justice impartially. Furthermore, he allowed Ireland free trade with England, and later admitted English colonists in Ireland to representation in the English parliament. But in the end his policy proved a failure in almost every particular.

The scene of battle now shifted from Ireland to Scotland. Here both the government and the royalists, though irreconcilable in matters of religion, agreed in denouncing the execution of Charles I, and supported the claims of his son. The Scottish commissioners, however, refused to take up arms in behalf of Prince Charles until he should accept the Covenant and promise to impose Presbyterianism on England. During the negotiations, Montrose, hoping to save his prince from these conditions, flew to arms. In April, 1650, the royalists, led by Montrose, were defeated at Carbisdale, and the leader himself was captured and hanged, a gallant martyr to the cause of a faithless prince. Charles did not raise a finger to save his brave ally, but continued his negotiations and accepted the Covenant with as few compunctions as he had shown in sacrificing Montrose. Charles possessed sagacity and astuteness, but he was indolent and deceitful and a consummate actor. He deceived the Scots in order to

win the support, not only of the Scottish Presbyterians, but of the Scottish national party as well.

But the cause of the prince was hopeless. At Dunbar (September, 1650), Cromwell defeated David Leslie and occupied Edinburgh. The Presbyterians lost ground. In their place arose the national party, who crowned Prince Charles at Scone (January, 1651), and continued the struggle. But at Worcester (September 3, 1651) Cromwell crushed the Scottish army, which had audaciously invaded England, and in so doing destroyed, not only the hopes of the Scottish royalists, but the independence of Scotland as well. After many romantic adventures, the prince reached the Continent and took up his residence first in Paris and afterward in Holland. General Monk, entering Scotland, completed the reduction of that kingdom. Scotland was united to England, and later the Scots found representation in the English parliament.

While Cromwell was winning victories on land, Blake, with the navy, was sweeping royalist privateers from the seas. He drove Prince Rupert from Portugal, broke up the royalist rendezvous in the Channel and Scilly Islands, and captured the Isle of Man. Sir George Ayscue, with another fleet, reduced to submission Barbadoes and other islands of the West Indies; and special commissioners sent to America received the allegiance of Virginia and Maryland, both royalist colonies.

Cromwell's victory at Worcester and the successes of Blake not only relieved the republic of danger, but also increased immensely its prestige among the foreign powers.

263. English Commerce and the Dutch War. — Now that England had little to fear from the royalists, Cromwell began to shape a definite policy for the government, the most important part of which related to commerce and the colonies. The expansion of England which had begun under Elizabeth and James I had been checked by the civil war; but in the meantime Holland, freed from war with Spain by the truce of 1608, was rapidly becoming the mistress of the world's commerce. The Dutch had gained control of the fisheries in the North

Sea; they had monopolized the trade in America and the West Indies, as well as in the East; they had gained possession of the Baltic trade and were preventing the English from obtaining such things as timber, tar, and hemp, which were needed for the building up of the English navy. In the East they had driven the English out of the Spice Islands and had forced them to confine their trade to India and other parts of the mainland. England's commercial expansion therefore demanded that the Dutch supremacy be overthrown.

Cromwell began the attack, first in an ordinance of 1650, and afterward in the famous navigation act of 1651,[1] which provided that no goods of the growth or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America should be imported into England or any of her colonies, except in ships owned and manned by Englishmen. This navigation act would have led to war, even had other causes been wanting; for Holland would not give up her trade without a struggle, and England was determined to enforce the act. But there were other causes for hostility between the two countries. The Dutch sympathized with the Stuarts, because their stadtholder, William II of Orange, had married the daughter of Charles I. An English agent, Dr. Dorislaus, had been murdered at The Hague by Scottish royalists and the murderers had gone unpunished. And lastly, a project for a treaty, which England presented to the Dutch government, had been rejected.[2]

The war, which broke out in 1652 and lasted till 1653, was entirely a naval struggle, with Blake on one side and the Dutch Admiral Von Tromp on the other. It injured the Dutch trade and led to a serious financial crisis in Holland. Blake won three naval victories in 1653, which so discouraged Holland, already suffering from the loss of her trade, that she gave up the struggle. In April, 1654, a treaty was finally arranged, whereby England was to receive compensation for all losses, and the claims advanced in the navigation act were tacitly recog-

[1] MacDonald, No. 22. [2] Kendall, No. 86.

nized. In the same year a treaty was signed with Denmark, which admitted England to the Baltic, and with Portugal, which strengthened England's hold in India. As events were to show, the Dutch were far from beaten; but from 1654 may be dated the decline of the commercial supremacy of Holland and the beginning of that of England. Cromwell's greatest achievement was to give England a prominent place in the commercial world.[1]

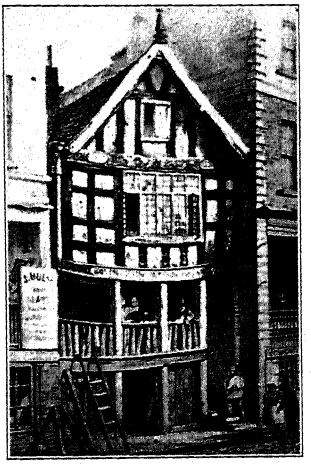
264. Establishment of the Protectorate. — During these years the Rump Parliament and its Council of State had been nominally the ruling power, though the real power lay in the hands of Cromwell and the army. Cromwell began to grow impatient with the parliament, and charged it with neglecting its business, and with spending its time talking instead of doing. After many attempts to arrange a compromise, he felt that the time had come to act. On April 20, 1653, he entered the House, and, after listening to the debate for a few minutes, rose and charged the members with delaying public business. "You are no parliament," he said; "I will put an end to your sitting." Calling his soldiers to help him, he drove out the members, bade one of his followers remove the mace from the table, and, passing out, locked the doors behind him.[2] The last trace of legal form was thus removed and the supremacy of the army was revealed.

What form of government should take the place of the Rump Parliament was a question debated for many days by Cromwell and the other leading men. Finally they proposed a representative assembly of the "godly men" of England, the members of which should be nominated by the Congregational (Independent) churches in each county and these nominations confirmed by the officers of the army. This strange body, the Nominative Parliament, or, as it was famil-

[1] Kendall, No. 87.

[2] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 95; Adams and Stephens, No. 218; Colby, No. 75; Kendall, No. 85.

iarly called, the Barebones Parliament, met on July 4, 1653, at Westminster.[1] It declared itself a true parliament, elected a council of state, appointed committees, and passed a number of acts of reform. As might have been expected, however, from a body so constituted, the Barebones Parliament soon became involved in quarrels on religious subjects and proved its utter inability to govern. Finally the army, thoroughly dissatisfied with the work of the new body, forced its members to disperse; and thus an unfortunate experiment was brought to an end (December, 1653).



OLD HOUSE IN CHESTER.

The inscription over the balcony reads "God's Providence is mine Inheritance." This was placed there in 1652, in commemoration of the escape of the house from the ravages of a plague.

Meanwhile the officers of the army had drawn up a new constitution, which was called the *Instrument of Government* (1653).[2] It provided for a head, the Protector, and for a parliament elected once in three years by all men possessing property worth £200. The powers of the Protector and of parliament were carefully defined and limited, and a council was established to act during the months when parliament was not in session. The most striking provision of the new constitution was the high property qualification, which, by limiting the right to vote to the men of moderate wealth, showed the army's distrust of the mass of the people. Crom-

[1] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 96.

[2] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 97; Adams and Stephens, No. 219; Lee, No. 167; Gee and Hardy, No. CX. The *Instrument of Government* was not something new, but represented an attempt to revert to the constitutional system under Elizabeth. It must, therefore, be kept entirely distinct from such a scheme as that embodied in the *Agreement of the People*.

well accepted the *Instrument of Government* in 1654, and assumed the title of Protector; and for six years thereafter the government of England was a protectorate.[1]

265. Cromwell's Work as Protector.—The ordinances which were issued at this time, dealing with the *reorganization and strengthening of the kingdom*, show the Protector to have been a statesman of large powers. He completed the union of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and worked out the representation of each county in the English parliament.[2] He reorganized the treasury; reformed the penal code, by decreasing the number of crimes for which a man could be hanged; attempted to reform men's manners, by forbidding duelling, cock-fighting, horse-racing, and gambling, and by requiring a more fit observance of Sunday; encouraged free schools, and strengthened the universities. That which he did to improve the dispensing of justice cannot be too highly praised. Yet nearly all his measures, being in advance of the time, were repealed after his death and find no place in the statute book of England.

More important, because more permanent, was his *foreign policy*. By this he sought to accomplish three things: (1) to protect and unite the Protestants of Europe; (2) to develop English commerce wherever possible; and (3) to thwart all attempts of the Stuarts to regain their throne. From one purpose he never deviated,—to make England the leader of Protestantism and the greatest commercial power in the world. In 1654, as we have already seen, he made peace with the Dutch on terms which yielded to England the supremacy of the sea, and compelled the Hollanders to give up their

[1] In our great admiration for Milton as a poet, we often lose sight of his attitude as a politician. He was the champion of the commonwealth and the protectorate. His *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, appearing a fortnight after the execution of Charles I, shows that he would have voted for the king's death had he been a member of the court of justice. His *Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth* (1660) shows that he was in all respects a man of a party and a great admirer of Cromwell. Kendall, No. 84.

[2] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 98; Adams and Stephens, No. 220.

support of the Stuarts, and also made treaties with Denmark and Portugal. In 1655 he tried to arrange a treaty with Sweden, hoping to create thereby a league of the Protestant states of Northern Europe; and, although he failed in his main object, he succeeded in effecting a commercial arrangement with Sweden which had the important result of rendering English shipping more secure and extending English commerce in the Baltic.

Cromwell found it difficult to arrange England's *relations with France and Spain.* These two Continental powers had been at war since 1635, when Richelieu declared war against Spain and took part in the Thirty Years' War as the surest way of defeating his enemy. Cromwell was uncertain with which of these powers it would be best to make an alliance. France was supporting the Stuarts, and Spain was England's old-time enemy. In either case, Cromwell was determined to obtain advantages for England. Spain refused his demand that English merchants in Spanish ports should be free from the interference of the Inquisition, and that English colonists and traders should trade freely in the Spanish West Indies. "This is to ask for my master's two eyes," said the Spanish minister. Cromwell sent, therefore, a secret expedition under Admiral Penn, William Penn's father, to the West Indies, and tried to extend England's colonial empire by annexing Spanish islands and cutting off Spanish trade.[1] At the same time he sent Blake into the Mediterranean to win respect there for the English flag. Spain, much irritated, began zealously to champion the cause of the Stuarts, and endeavored to stir up civil war in England. The expedition sent out under Penn failed in its object, only Jamaica being captured. Blake, however, entered on a career which is only equalled by that of his great predecessor, Drake. By a wholesome use of threats and gunpowder, he overawed the Deys of Algiers and Tunis, and taught the

[1] See the article by Strong in the *American Historical Review*, January, 1899, pp. 228–246, "The Causes of Cromwell's West Indian Expedition."

men of the Barbary States to respect England's power. In 1655, when Spain, thoroughly aroused, actually declared war against England, Blake captured a Spanish treasure-fleet, and sent to England over £600,000 in gold and silver. Shortly afterward he destroyed sixteen Spanish galleons in the harbor of Cadiz.

These events made inevitable an alliance between England and France, and on March 23, 1657, a treaty was signed. Prince Charles had already left France, in 1654, but now his friends also were forced to withdraw. As a preliminary to the treaty, Cromwell demanded of the French minister, Mazarin, that he compel the duke of Savoy to stop the slaughter of the Protestants of Piedmont, which had aroused the indignation of the English Protestants, and had called forth from Milton one of his finest sonnets. Cromwell fulfilled his part of the treaty, and on June 4, 1658, helped the French to win a victory at Dunkirk, whereby the Spanish were beaten, the cause of Prince Charles was rendered hopeless so far as aid from Spain was concerned, and Dunkirk was handed over to the English.

The results of this policy may be briefly stated. Cromwell failed in his attempt to create a great Protestant league, because the day for such a league had gone by. The religious wars were over, and political questions were interesting men's minds. He cannot be said to have shown great foresight in making an alliance with France against Spain, for he aided thereby a growing state that was destined to be the greatest of England's rivals in the years to come. In his commercial and colonial policy he accomplished his grandest work; for by making treaties of commerce, breaking the commercial supremacy of the Dutch, winning a foothold in Jamaica in the West Indies, and endeavoring to colonize that island by transporting thither emigrants from the New England colonies,[1] he laid the foundations, not only for England's leadership in

[1] See Strong in *Report of the American Historical Association*, 1898, pp. 79–94, "A Forgotten Danger to the New England Colonies"; Kendall No. 88.

commerce, but also for her great colonial empire. Charles II, when he came to the throne, set aside the great majority of Cromwell's measures, but he did not tamper with his colonial schemes, knowing that they represented the wishes and interests of the English people.

266. Cromwell's Experiments in Government (1654–1658). — Cromwell tried a great many ways of governing England, but he did not succeed very well with any of them. He got rid of the Rump Parliament in 1653, and substituted for it the Barebones Parliament in the same year. But that experiment failed, and he accepted a constitution in 1653, the *Instrument of Government*, and tried to work with a parliament elected under the provisions of that constitution. But this parliament, composed mostly of Presbyterians and moderate Independents, insisted on amending the constitution; whereas Cromwell felt that it was their business, not to waste time talking about a new constitution, but to govern England as well as possible with the constitution they already possessed. The time was critical, because the Levellers, or extreme republicans, were ready to combine with the royalists in overthrowing the protectorate. Therefore, in January, 1655, Cromwell dismissed parliament,[1] and until September, 1656, governed without it, but in strict accord with the constitution. He overthrew one leveller insurrection in February, 1655, and two royalist movements in March of the same year.

For greater security he divided England into twelve military districts, and in November, 1655, placed each under the charge of a major-general. It was the duty of these men (1) to prevent uprisings, disarm Roman Catholics, and seize weapons; (2) to levy a tax on the lands of royalists; (3) to stop horse-racing and gambling, and to check swearing and drunkenness; (4) to execute the poor laws and compel the idle to work; (5) to register all householders, and to know what every suspected person was doing; (6) and to license taverns and ale-

[1] See Lee, No. 168.

houses.[1] The system proved very efficient, but was hated by the English people, because it represented the rule of the army. In fact, before the rule of the major-generals was half over, England was ready to return to constitutional government, and the cause of monarchy found many new supporters.

Need of money compelled Cromwell to call another parliament, September 17, 1656; and in return for a grant of supplies he consented to abolish the office of the major-generals. Taking advantage of this opportunity, certain merchants and lawyers, opponents of the army, succeeded in passing a bill, asking Cromwell to accept a new constitution and to assume the name and office of king.[2] This request was embodied in what is known as the *Humble Petition and Advice*.[3] Cromwell rejected the royal title, but accepted the new constitution, and in so doing helped to bring England back to the form of government which she had had before 1649. Between 1649 and 1657 England had been governed by a legislative body consisting of only one chamber; but the new scheme provided for two — an upper and a lower house. In forming the upper house, Cromwell called about forty of his chief supporters from the lower house, and so weakened his party there as to throw the control of affairs into the hands of his leading republican opponents. The two houses came at once into conflict over the question as to whether or not the upper house should be called a House of Lords; and Cromwell, growing angry because of the dispute, put an end to the parliament, on February 4, 1658. "Let God be judge between you and me," he said, and the defiant republicans responded, "Amen."

This was the last of the Protector's experiments in constitutional government. Had he lived, he undoubtedly would have persevered in the attempt to establish a stable government. But his end was near. On September 3, 1658, the anniversary

[1] Rannie, "Cromwell's Major Generals," *E. H. R.*, 1895, p. 471.
[2] Firth, "Cromwell and the Crown," *E. H. R.*, June, 1902 pp. 429–442.
[3] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 102; Gee and Hardy, No. CXIII.

of Dunbar and Worcester, he died, worn out with anxiety, care, and family affliction.[1]

267. Cromwell's Place in History. — The work of Cromwell was finished. By his genius as a soldier, he had checked the absolutism of the Stuarts and had brought England, a compact and united state, out of the dangers of the civil war. By his vigor as a statesman, he had raised England's prestige abroad and had prepared the way for the greater England that was to come. At home he had fought for liberty of conscience, had set before the people a high standard of morals and justice, and had effected a union of Scotland and Ireland with England. In these three particulars his ideals found little support in the reaction that followed, though they were destined to become in the end a part of England's inheritance.

But Cromwell cannot be called a great statesman, because he did not consistently plan for the future, and because he did not adapt his government to the wishes of the people of all England. He believed that power should lie in the hands of the "godly men," whose duty it was to rule for the good of the people. He was, therefore, always the leader of a minority, never of England as a whole. His experiments in constitutional government were a failure, because they were made in the interest of the Puritan party and never of the nation. When, therefore, after his death, the people had an opportunity of expressing their opinion in the election of a parliament, they voted for the overthrow of the system of government that he had tried so carefully to establish.

268. The Restoration of the Stuarts. — Cromwell's eldest son, Richard, succeeded his father as Protector.[2] But he was wholly incompetent to meet the difficult situation; and in May, 1659, the army officers united with the extreme republicans

[1] For extracts illustrating Cromwell's traits, speeches, etc., see Henderson's *Side Lights*, Groups XII, XIII, pp. 93–115; also Kendall, No. 89.

[2] Lee, No. 170.

and forced him to abdicate. In the same month the soldiers restored the Rump Parliament, the only body that seemed to possess any constitutional character. But this body at once came into conflict with the army that restored it, and the confusion became so great that no one knew where to turn for safety and the preservation of order. In December, General Monk,[1] who commanded the army in Scotland, took matters into his own hands, and having marched to London, forced the Rump Parliament to admit again the Presbyterian members whom Pride had driven out in 1648. He then demanded that this restored parliament should vote its own dissolution and issue writs for the summoning of a convention, the members of which were to be fairly and freely elected by all who had the right to vote. Thus Monk not only saved England from anarchy and possibly a third civil war, but he made it possible for the kingdom to return peaceably to constitutional government.

Each step thus far taken since 1657 had brought England nearer the constitutional system rejected in 1649, and only the monarchy and the Stuarts needed to be restored to make the old system, to all outward appearances, complete. With Prince Charles, Monk was already negotiating; for he knew, as the majority of Englishmen knew, that the return of Charles as king of England was now inevitable. In a declaration issued from Breda,[2] April 4, 1660, Charles promised pardon, liberty of conscience, and freedom from all confiscation of property; and in May the Convention, which had been duly elected, invited him to return to England. On May 25, 1660, Charles landed at Dover and immediately entered on his reign.[3] To all appearances England was accepting once more the system of government that had been established by the Long Parliament in 1641.

[1] Rightly, this name should be spelled Monck.

[2] Gardiner, *Documents*, No. 105; Gee and Hardy, No. CXIV; Adams and Stephens, No. 221; Lee, Nos. 171, 172, 173, 174.

[3] Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group XIV, pp. 115–124; Kendall, No. 90.

269. Character of the Reign of Charles II. — Though Charles was now king of England, his position was very different from that occupied by his father and grandfather. He had been placed on the throne by the nation, not by a party; and during the twenty years preceding his accession the nation had learned many lessons regarding kings. It was evident that the English people would no longer tolerate a personal rule, or levies of ship money and other arbitrary measures. The middle classes — merchants, lawyers, inhabitants of towns and boroughs — had taken part in a successful revolution. They had measured their strength with a king in civil war, and had made experiments in the drafting of constitutions that had taught them many lessons as to what they could and could not do. Voluntarily they had called a Stuart to rule over them; but they were determined that he should reign in no other way than according to the constitution as it had been shaped by the important reforms of 1641.



CHARLES II.
From a photograph of a painting by Mrs. Beals.

In fact, the revolution had not yet ended, for the question as to whether the sovereign power lay in the king or in the representatives of the nation had not been settled. The people had been frightened by the despotic rule of Cromwell's army, by the anarchy in government that followed Cromwell's death, and by the apparent overthrow of the old constitution. To escape anarchy, they welcomed Charles II as their king; but should he prove to be as blind and obstinate as his father

had been, they were prepared to depose him also. The restoration, therefore, represents only a compromise, and the entire reign of Charles II was politically only an experiment made to prove whether or not a Stuart could be a constitutional king. By tact and shrewdness Charles II was able to play off one party against another and to keep his throne. The second revolution did not take place until a second restored Stuart, James II, by blindly and obstinately disregarding the law of the constitution and the wishes of the nation, made a continuation of the struggle inevitable.

270. The Convention and its Work.—Before Charles was called back to England, a Convention, composed of the moderate men of all parties, had attempted to set in order the political and religious affairs of the nation. It invited Charles II to return, thus restoring the monarchy; it disbanded the army of the commonwealth, thus getting rid of a body that had threatened to become an instrument of tyranny; and it proclaimed a general pardon, except for the judges who had condemned Charles I. But it showed its spirit of reaction and revenge by putting to death thirteen of the judges, and by ordering the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw to be torn from their graves in Westminster Abbey and hanged at Tyburn.

Exceedingly difficult to settle were the questions relating to land, the revenues, and the church. The Convention tried to restore to their former owners the estates that had been seized by the revolutionary government. It returned to the king the lands of the crown, and gave back to the church and the royalists such lands as they had not sold of their own accord. It performed its greatest act when it abolished feudal tenures, for thereafter every man held his land by what was known as "socage" tenure, that is, by an oath of fealty and the payment of a fixed rent.[1] This new system did away with all feudal incidents, aids, and obligations, and contributed more to England's progress than did any other act of the period. At

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 222.

the same time it lessened the king's revenue; and to make up for this loss, the Convention granted to the king the revenues accruing from a tax on beer. It fixed his yearly income at £1,200,000, which would hardly have met the expenses of both the king and his government, even if it had all been collected. But owing to the fact that the country was exhausted by the long struggle and by Cromwell's expensive policy, and could not pay the taxes, Charles received not even half of what parliament intended he should.

The Convention found it impossible to settle the church question. An attempt was made to effect a sort of compromise between the Episcopal and Presbyterian systems, but nothing came of it; for Charles, in December, 1660, dissolved the Convention, before it had completed its work. Writs were then issued summoning a regular parliament.

271. The Reaction: Election of the Cavalier Parliament. — The new parliament, though to the king's liking, was in fact more royalist than was the king himself. For the most part, Charles was inclined to be tolerant. In April, 1661, he authorized the Anglicans and Presbyterians to hold a meeting at the Savoy Palace, with the object of reaching a satisfactory settlement of the religious question; but the conference accomplished nothing.[1] The Cavalier Parliament was less anxious than the king for a compromise. Scarcely had it met when it made a savage attack on the Puritans and their religion. In December, 1661, it began its double work of persecuting the Nonconformists and of reëstablishing the Anglican church.

By the Corporation Act[2] (May, 1661), all persons holding office in the towns — where the Puritans were most numerous — were required to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, to declare that opposition to the king was treason, and to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican church. In May, 1662, the Uniformity Act, the last in

[1] Gee and Hardy, No. CXV.

[2] Gee and Hardy, No. CXVI; Adams and Stephens, No. 223.

English history, required every clergyman to use the prayer-book, under penalty of losing his position.[1] Two years afterward the Conventicle Act,[2] which was passed again in 1670,[3] forbade all meeting for purposes of worship under any other form than that prescribed by the church of England. And in 1665, parliament completed its work by the passage of the Five Mile Act,[4] which forbade all clergymen who had not obeyed the Act of Uniformity — and there were some two thousand who had not done so — to come within five miles of any city or corporate town.



EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON.

These acts, which were accompanied with others of a similar character for Scotland, were largely the work of the chief adviser of the king, Sir Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, who made it his object to effect the restoration of the Anglican church, to complete the work of Archbishop Laud, and to suppress all that remained of Puritanism. On this account, these various measures have sometimes been called the Clarendon Code.

But the reaction was not limited to matters of religion. During the reign of Charles II there was generally prevalent a desire to reverse all that had been done during the period of the Puritan supremacy, and to break away from the soberness and gloom of the Puritan epoch.[5] Men and women became

[1] Gee and Hardy, No. CXVII; Adams and Stephens, No. 224.
[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 225. [3] Gee and Hardy, No. CXIX.
[4] Gee and Hardy, No. CXVIII; Adams and Stephens, No. 226; Kendall, No. 92.
[5] For extracts illustrating the festivities accompanying the return of the king, see Henderson's *Side Lights*, group XIV, pp. 115–124; Colby, No. 77.

gay and pleasure-loving. Taking their cue from the fashions of the French court, where many had lived during the exile, they changed their books, their dress, their manners, and their speech. At court and in society French customs prevailed; vice and profligacy increased; scepticism became fashionable; gambling, card-playing, and drinking became habits of every-day life. Yet, at the same time, it must be remembered that among the mass of the people in towns and country sobriety and right living prevailed.

272. Conflict between Parliament and the King. — However eager the members of the Cavalier Parliament may have been to persecute the Puritans, they were none the less determined to retain all political advantages their predecessors had won in the great revolution, and to exercise the parliamentary privilege of criticising the king's policy and of controlling the king's actions. Certain events that occurred after 1662 had made them suspicious of the king and had led them to doubt his loyalty to England.

In the first place, parliament did not look with favor on the king's marriage, in 1662, with Catherine of Braganza, a Portuguese princess, because it seemed to bind the king to the policy of Louis XIV, who was friendly to Portugal and hostile to Spain. Parliament thought that this marriage foreshadowed an alliance with France. It was angry when Charles sold Dunkirk to the French king in the same year, and saw with distrust the extravagances of the king's court and the profligate character of his life. It believed that Charles was conniving at the bribery of his officials by France and was spending on his mistresses all the money that he received.

In the second place, parliament blamed Charles and his advisers for the mismanagement of the Dutch war of 1665, which began auspiciously, but which brought in the end much trouble and humiliation to England.

273. The Dutch War. — Though Cromwell had crippled the commerce of Holland, the Dutch still remained the great rivals of England and competed with her in India, Africa, and

America. All England seems to have desired war with Holland: parliament, because of the constant complaints that were heard of Dutch encroachments; the nation, because of its jealousy of a successful rival; and Charles II, because he wished to do anything that would strengthen England's commerce and colonies and so increase his customs duties, and because the Dutch had rejected as stadtholder his nephew, William of Orange, selecting as their head a commoner, Jan de Witt.

England, eager to strike the first blow, attacked, in 1664, the Dutch colonists, both at Cape Verd in Africa, and at New Amsterdam in America, where was situated a Dutch settlement separating the English settlements in New England from those in Maryland and Virginia. A little later in the same year, war was formally declared. The Dutch were promised help by Louis XIV, who wished to see the two Protestant powers fighting each other instead of uniting to oppose his own plans. For two years the war continued. The English won a victory at Harwich, but the Dutch showed unexpected staying power and won in a great battle, fought off the Downs in 1666.

This defeat for the English was accompanied with other disasters not connected with the war. In the same year London was visited with a great plague and a great fire, both of which caused extraordinary loss and confusion.[1] Moreover, the war was making havoc in the administration of the navy. Inasmuch as money could not be obtained, seamen were unpaid and mutinous, shipbuilders held back completed vessels, repairs were left undone, food was left unfurnished, and finally the supply of men gave out entirely. The Dutch, taking advantage of these deplorable conditions, sent a fleet up the Thames. It entered the Medway, burnt the English ships, and blockaded London.[2] This humiliating incident led to an early peace, and in July, 1667, the treaty of Breda was signed.

[1] Henderson, *Side Lights*, Groups XV, XVI, pp. 124–142; Colby, No. 78; Kendall, No. 93.

[2] Kendall, No. 94.

Holland herself, divided into factions and alarmed by the grasping policy of Louis XIV, made favorable terms with England, and gave her the Dutch colony in America in return for undisputed possession of the Spice Islands.

274. Fall of Clarendon. — Both parliament and people blamed Clarendon for the bad management of the war. Since 1660 he had been the chief man of the realm; but he had not understood the new temper of the English people, and in becoming lord chancellor had not realized how much England had changed since the days when he had sat as Edward Hyde in the Long Parliament. Parliament held him responsible for the sale of Dunkirk, for the burning of the English ships in the Medway, and, in general, for bad government and the misuse of funds. Charles II did nothing to save his minister; for he did not like Clarendon's stern uprightness, and was rather glad than otherwise to be rid of a minister who criticised his immoral life and had no sympathy with his desire to tolerate Roman Catholics and Dissenters. In 1667 Charles dismissed Clarendon, and in the same year parliament impeached him and banished him from England.

275. Financial Position of Charles II: Intrigues with France. — Clarendon was overthrown chiefly because of the wretched financial condition into which England had fallen. The Dutch war had shown that there was not enough money in the treasury to run the kingdom. It is commonly said that Charles II misappropriated the money that parliament allowed him and spent it on favorites and mistresses, but the accusation has not been made good. In truth, Charles and his treasurer, the upright Southampton, did not have money enough to pay the regular expenses, because the sums voted by parliament could not be collected, and the receipts never actually equalled the amount, small enough at best, that parliament was willing to allow the king.[1] The king had to make up the deficit in

[1] Shaw, in *The Owens College Historical Essays*, "The Beginning of the National Debt," pp. 400–401.

various ways. He turned into the treasury the dowry which his Portuguese wife brought him, as well as the money received from the sale of Dunkirk. He sold the crown lands and tried to help with the funds received. He borrowed money of private persons and of the goldsmiths, the bankers of that day, promising to pay when the supplies granted by parliament came in. But all these devices proved of very little avail.

A new way out of the difficulty soon opened. When the war with Holland was over, the English people realized, as they had never done before, that Louis XIV was the great enemy of Protestant Europe. In the "war of devolution," 1667, he attempted to annex the Netherlands, and in so doing disclosed the first part of his plan to increase the territory of France at the expense of his neighbors. Parliament, aroused by this danger, sent Sir William Temple to Holland to arrange an alliance against France. In consequence, a triple alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden was formed, and so menacing did the combination appear to the French king that he at once took steps to destroy it. In order to quiet the suspicions of his enemies, he concluded the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668, and at once began secret negotiations, first with Sweden and afterward with England.

Charles was willing to treat with Louis, (1) because England's rivalry with Holland was as keen after the treaty of Breda as before; (2) because he himself secretly sympathized with Roman Catholicism and wished to bring England into close touch with the Catholic countries of the Continent; and (3) because he and his treasurer had been unable to meet the deficit in the treasury. Commercial, religious, and financial reasons underlay these unpatriotic and secret negotiations with Louis XIV, which ended in the secret treaty of Dover, June 1, 1670. In return for a cash payment of £200,000, and more in the event of actual war, Charles promised to aid Louis against the Dutch and to acknowledge himself a Roman Catholic. The financial bankruptcy of England must be held in part responsible for this disgraceful treaty.

276. Period of the Cabal: the King's Policy of Alliance with France abroad and Toleration at Home. — After the fall of Clarendon, the king gave his confidence to no one in particular; but out of the whole body of his privy councillors he consulted, more frequently than others, five men, of whom the most important was Anthony Ashley Cooper, at first known as Lord Ashley and afterward as the Earl of Shaftesbury.[1] These men in no way formed a ministry or cabinet in the modern sense of the word, and legally were in no way responsible to parliament; but they foreshadowed the modern ministry, and, as it happened, were later held responsible by parliament for bad advice and bad government, just as Clarendon had been.

Charles adhered to the policy adopted when he signed the secret treaty with France. In 1672 he was forced to declare the bankruptcy of the state, in what is known as the Stop of the Exchequer, and refused to pay the loans of the goldsmiths and of private individuals, because the treasury was empty.[2] But his need of money did not prevent him from carrying out his part of the French treaty by declaring war on the Dutch, a war in which "the nations fought without being angry." At the same time, he pursued his policy of toleration by issuing a declaration of indulgence, releasing non-conformists, Roman Catholics and Dissenters alike, from the operation of the Clarendon Code.[3]

But parliament was growing suspicious. It saw with con-

[1] These men were Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. The term *Cabal* was given to them because their initials happened to form that word.

[2] Charles II was accustomed, as Cromwell had been, to borrow of the goldsmiths, paying eight per cent interest. But in 1672 "the king, who then owed the goldsmiths £1,328,526, announced that the sum would not be repaid, but that his creditors would have to be satisfied with the interest. Even this crumb of consolation was denied till 1677, when six per cent was paid. Payment stopped again in 1683; but in 1701 it was arranged that three per cent should be paid. Later still, the South Sea Company took over the debt, and on the failure of that body the sum was included in the National Debt, of which indeed it formed the nucleus."—Warner, *Landmarks*, p. 238.

[3] Adams and Stephens, No. 227.

cern that France, rather than England, was profiting from the war with Holland; and that Roman Catholics had been chiefly considered in the Act of Indulgence. Thoroughly distrustful, therefore, of both the king and his advisers, it compelled Charles to withdraw the Act of Indulgence in 1673, and in the same year passed the Test Act, which declared that all who held office under the crown should receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican church.[1] In passing the act, parliament rebuked the king, and caused all Roman Catholics to withdraw from office. The king's brother, James, Duke of York, resigned the office of high admiral, and Clifford withdrew from the treasury. Furthermore, the war with the Dutch became increasingly unpopular, as the people realized that England was being made a mere cat's-paw by France. Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had been created earl of Shaftesbury in 1672, was dismissed from office; and in 1674 the war was brought to an end.

277. The King and the Parties.—The year 1674 marks a turning-point in the relations between king and parliament. Charles had been checkmated in his attempts to carry out his own policy of alliance with France and indulgence for Roman Catholics, a policy not to be taken up again until the duke of York came to the throne as James II. The king was too good a politician not to yield at so dangerous a crisis; and for the next few years he was content to play off one party in parliament against the other. Shaftesbury, after his dismissal from office, had become the leader of the opposition, consisting chiefly of Dissenters, who believed it was lawful for parliament to compel the king to do as they and the people thought right. Opposed to Shaftesbury was the man whom Charles selected as his adviser, the earl of Danby, who belonged to the school of Clarendon. Danby supported the king and the established church, and believed that the king's power was from God alone.

[1] Gee and Hardy, No. CXX; Adams and Stephens, No. 228. Compare Kendall, No. 95.

In the struggle that followed, Shaftesbury and his party were at first successful, for they had the support of the nation. The English people had become alarmed by the victories of Louis XIV in Holland and the discovery that a great many Roman Catholics had held office in the government. Moreover, they were displeased that the duke of York should have married, in 1673, as his second wife a Catholic princess, Mary of Modena, and, in fact, were in a state of mind to be easily influenced by Shaftesbury's inflammatory speeches.

Again Charles yielded. In 1677 he consented to the marriage of his niece, Mary, daughter of the duke of York by his first wife, to William of Orange, who was now stadtholder of Orange and the leader of the opposition to Louis XIV in Europe. Charles was even himself persuaded to take up arms against Louis, an act which angered the French king. In order to bring about the fall of Danby, who, he believed, was the chief cause of the king's change of mind, Louis sent to parliament a letter that Danby had written to the French court, asking for new subsidies. The plan succeeded. Though Danby was opposed to the French alliance and declared that he had written only at the king's bidding, parliament impeached him. In so doing it demonstrated the fact that a minister, no matter what private views he may hold, could be held responsible for the king's policy. Charles, however, saved Danby for the moment by dissolving parliament, a body which had sat continuously from 1661 to 1679.

278. Shaftesbury and the Roman Catholics: The Exclusion Bill. — Shaftesbury's success was to prove his ruin. The period from 1679 to 1681 was one of great uneasiness and unrest. Almost a panic was caused by the stories of one Titus Oates, who at this time came forward with a carefully prepared tale that a great Roman Catholic conspiracy was on foot to murder the king and make England a Catholic kingdom.[1] Many Roman Catholics were executed on the flimsiest of pretexts; Protes-

[1] Figgis, Part I, pp. 62–72.

tants became hysterical; and the nation began to fear a union of the Stuarts with Catholic France for the purpose of overthrowing the liberties of England.

Charles, attempting to allay the excitement, summoned a new parliament (March, 1679). But that body at once renewed its impeachment of Danby; and, despite his plea of a pardon from the king, sent him to the Tower.[1] Then the opposition, led by Lord William Russell in the House of Commons and Shaftesbury in the Lords, directed the attack against the duke of York, an avowed Roman Catholic, in order to prevent his succession to the throne. To this end an exclusion bill[2] was drafted, but Charles prevented its passage by dissolving parliament. Another parliament was elected (October, 1679), but the king refused to summon it. The nation was dividing into two great parties, whose struggles were to constitute party history in later times. Those who wished to exclude the duke of York from the succession and petitioned the king to summon parliament that an exclusion bill might be passed, were called the petitioners, or Whigs; those who believed in the doctrine of the divine right of kings and the right of the duke of York to succeed, were the Abhorrers, because they expressed their abhorrence of the attempt to coerce the king and to exclude the duke, and they were nicknamed Tories.[3] Shaftesbury, the leader of the Whigs, weakened his cause by bringing forward the duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles, as the king's successor, and by denying the claims of Mary, the daughter of James, who, as a Protestant and the wife of William of Orange, was popular with the nation.

279. Reaction in Favor of the King. — Shaftesbury and his party had gone too far. Just as, two years before, the people had feared a Catholic conspiracy, so now they began to fear a

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 229.

[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 230; Kendall, No. 96; Figgis, Part I, pp. 78–86.

[3] The terms *Whig* and *Tory* were nicknames; the former from Whiggamore, a Scottish Presbyterian; the latter from a term given to a class of Irish bog-trotters, or outlaws, who were Roman Catholics.

return to the anarchy of the Puritan revolution. In 1680 the House of Lords rejected the Exclusion Bill and the Whig leaders became desperate. They came to the parliament of 1681, armed, and in so doing were guilty of a breach of the law. By dissension among themselves and by their extreme measures they weakened their cause. Charles saw his opportunity and quickly took advantage of it. He upheld the cause of his brother, the duke of York, refused to consider for a moment the claims of the duke of Monmouth, and when the opposition became violent, dissolved his parliament and refused to call another.

The king was supported by all Roman Catholics, all upholders of the Anglican church, and great numbers of fair-minded men who disliked Shaftesbury's methods. Aided by powerful allies and subsidized by gold from France, the king and his advisers were able to take their revenge. Shaftesbury was driven from England; the city of London, which had been his stronghold, was deprived of its charter; and other centres of the Dissenters and Whigs were similarly punished. In 1683, when a body of desperate men formed the Rye House plot[1] to assassinate the king and his brother, the government meted out a heavy penalty. Lord William Russell and Sir Algernon Sydney were seized, tried, and executed for high treason, on the ground that they had conspired to assassinate the king and to raise a rebellion within the kingdom.[2]

Thus a clever manipulation of parties, together with the violent measures and dissensions of his opponents, gave the victory to the king. Meanwhile, however, England had

[1] Figgis, Part I, pp. 93–95.

[2] Figgis, Part I, pp. 96–100. Sydney won a martyr's crown at the hand of the infamous Judge Jeffreys, not so much for connection with the plot, of which probably neither he nor Russell knew anything, but because of the work that he had written against the doctrine of divine right. Filmer, in *Patriarcha*, and Hobbes, in *The Leviathan*, had upheld the Stuart doctrines; Sydney, in his *Discourses on Government*, a reply to Filmer, but in 1683 existing only in manuscript, declared his belief in the sovereignty of the people, and, by implication at least, approved of the execution of Charles I. For this belief he suffered.

learned some lessons from the shrewd and tactful Charles, by which all profited in the next reign. In 1685 Charles died,[1] and was succeeded by his brother as James II.

280. The Colonies under Charles II. — While this matter of government and parties was being worked out at home, England was making great strides in the world of commerce abroad. The Stuarts, whatever may have been their views on government, had definite ideas regarding the growth of England's colonies and commerce; for they saw in both of these an opportunity to increase the revenues of the crown. By his marriage with Catherine of Braganza, Charles had gained both Tangier and Bombay. The former acquisition was England's first vantage point in Africa; the latter her first foothold in India. In 1663, by the grant of Carolina to Clarendon and others, he had established a new colony in America. In 1662 and 1663 he had transformed the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island into corporations, by charters that gave these colonies legal recognition and a true land title. In 1664 he had granted to his brother the province of New Netherland, the region between New England and Maryland, and at the conclusion of the war with the Dutch, had obtained a confirmation of England's title to the territory. In the same year the duke of York granted to Berkeley and Carteret that portion later known as New Jersey. Finally, in 1681, almost at the close of the reign, Charles completed a splendid work of colonial expansion by granting to William Penn the province of Pennsylvania. This territory was given to Penn in honor of his father, Admiral Penn, and in recognition of a loan of £11,000 which the admiral had made to the king and the latter had been compelled to repudiate in the Stop of the Exchequer.

Thus before the close of the reign of Charles II there existed nine colonial settlements on the continent of America, forming

[1] For the court life under Charles, for personal traits of the king, and for an account of his death, see Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group XVII, pp. 142–157; Figgis, Part I, pp. 100–107.

a continuous seaboard along the Atlantic coast. Barbadoes, Jamaica, Bahamas, and a number of smaller islands in the West Indies were already in English hands. In Africa a few places were controlled by the English, while in India a beginning of occupation had been made at Bombay.

281. Trade and Commerce. — Hitherto few attempts had been made to deal adequately with questions of plantations and trade. James I had appointed a committee for the purpose, and Cromwell had done the same. But it was left for Charles and Clarendon to inaugurate a more efficient policy, on the ground that commerce increased the customs revenues of the crown. Under Clarendon's influence, parliament in 1660 and 1663 passed what are known as the first and second navigation acts. It was the purpose of these acts (1) to promote English shipping by taking from the Dutch their monopoly of the carrying trade, a policy which had already been adopted in Cromwell's navigation act of 1651; and (2) to increase England's customs revenues and to benefit her merchants by requiring that certain commodities from the colonies must first be brought to England before being carried elsewhere, and that all goods taken from other countries to the colonies must first pass through English ports. A third act, in 1672, extended these provisions somewhat. At the same time various commissions and committees were appointed for the purpose of dealing with all questions of trade and the colonies.

By these means England entered upon a new career as a commercial and colonial power. Her revenues increased, her shipping was extended, her colonies became her source of supply for those raw materials that she could not produce at home. Her manufactures, notably of woollen cloth, increased rapidly, and were sent over to her colonies in exchange for the raw materials that the colonies were encouraged to send to her.[1]

[1] See Colby, No. 80.

282. Constitutional and Legal Progress. — The reign of Charles II is noteworthy as an era of important advances in constitutional and legal matters. The king had ceased to be absolute, and the arbitrary imposition of taxes was at an end. Feudal tenures had been abolished. The House of Commons was holding the king's ministers responsible for the king's acts, and was already inquiring into the way in which the king was spending the money granted him. The beginnings of cabinet government can faintly be seen. High commissions and star chambers were institutions of the past; jury trial was thenceforth free and little liable to interference from either king or nobility; and most important of all, a Habeas Corpus Act had been passed (1679), which declared that no man should be kept in prison for an indefinite length of time without a trial.[1] This act provided that every man charged with an offence should be tried at the first opportunity.

283. James II. — James II was a far abler man than his brother, the late king, and had he been possessed of a little of the latter's shrewdness and tact, might have succeeded well as a ruler. He was persistent and industrious, loyal to his word and his friends. He had had considerable experience with matters of business and government, having been head of the admiralty till 1673, and regent in Scotland during the last years of his brother's reign. But like his father, he was narrow-minded and intolerant, obstinate and merciless, and always failed to understand the sentiments of his people until he had gone too far in his course to withdraw. While Charles II had been able not only to steer his way safely for twenty-five years, but even to prove himself in the end a stronger king than he had been at his accession, James succeeded in bringing matters to a crisis after a reign of less than three years.[2]

His failure is the more remarkable, inasmuch as he became

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 231; Lee, No. 177; Figgis, Part I, pp. 61–62.
[2] Figgis, Part II, pp. 8–11.

king when circumstances were most favorable to him; when the Whigs were discredited; when the bulk of the nation, resenting the violence of Shaftesbury and his associates, and disturbed by the Rye House plot, were ready to give a Stuart, with a reputation for honesty, a fair trial. In three short years these conditions were exactly reversed, a result for which the king himself was wholly responsible.

284. Uprisings of Argyle and Monmouth: the Bloody Assizes. — James began well. He promised "to preserve the government as by law established." He released from the Tower Roman Catholics and Quakers alike, and approved the sentence of fine, flogging, and imprisonment imposed by the courts on Titus Oates as a perjurer. Parliament, made up of members who owed their election to the influence of the government, proved highly favorable to the king, and made large grants of supplies. Matters seemed to be prosperous both for the Tory party and for the king.

But the Whigs, though beaten and exiled, were by no means in despair. Under the leadership of Argyle in Scotland and of Monmouth in England, they attempted to recover their power. In May, 1685, Argyle landed at the firth of Clyde, and a month later Monmouth landed at Lyme in Dorset. Argyle's expedition was foolhardy in the extreme. He failed to find the support that he had expected in Scotland, and in June was captured and executed. Monmouth's venture at first gave more promise of success. The southwestern counties were ready to rise in his support, the local militia was already favorable to him, and the manufacturing classes of the towns, such as Taunton, Exeter, and Bristol, and even London, were eager to furnish arms and funds, should a successful leader appear. But Monmouth, though romantic and dashing, was incompetent and cowardly. He got into trouble with his colleagues, wasted time at Lyme and Taunton, and when, at last, he was ready to act, found the king's troops strongly intrenched against him. At Sedgemoor (July 6, 1685) he was defeated. He fled from the field of

battle, only to be captured and taken to London, where, begging piteously for life, he was beheaded.[1]

Monmouth deserves little pity, and the failure of his cause arouses little regret, for, in all probability, he would have made a worthless king. But the punishment inflicted on his followers, the too faithful friends of an undeserving leader, stirs the soul to wrath. Colonel Kirke, with his soldiers, — Kirke's Lambs, as they were called, — was sent through the counties to wreak summary vengeance. Many rebels were seized and hanged on the spot, while scores of others were thrust into jail to await the coming of the justices. Jeffreys, the chief of the justices, though no worse than others of his time, aroused public horror because of the enjoyment he took in the work of the Bloody Assizes. He badgered, bullied, and sneered at his prisoners, and carried out a cruel law in a cruel manner.[2] Three hundred prisoners were hanged, eight hundred were transported as slaves to the West Indies to endure a living death, while hundreds of others were flogged and imprisoned. James showed that the master was little better than the servant, for he made Jeffreys lord high chancellor of England.

285. Consequence of the Rebellion: the Roman Catholic Policy of James.—The Monmouth rebellion was important, not only for its immediate, but also for its ultimate, results. Its failure undoubtedly gave new strength to the government, and the ease with which it was suppressed led James to entertain false ideas regarding his own power. He believed that the time had come when he could reëstablish Roman Catholicism in England, and he hoped to carry out his plan by exempting Roman Catholics from the laws, passed during the reign of Charles II, against liberty of conscience and freedom of worship.

[1] Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group XVII, pp. 158–170; Figgis, Part II, pp. 12–16.

[2] Colby, No. 81; Figgis, Part II, pp. 16–22. Irving's *Life of Judge Jeffreys* (1898) is of considerable value and corrects, in many particulars, Macaulay's narrative in the *History of England*.

Consequently, in November, 1685, when parliament reassembled, James demanded the repeal of the Test Act, which provided that no Roman Catholics could hold office in England. Parliament probably would not have repealed this act under any circumstances; but its determination not to do so was strengthened by the fact that Louis XIV, only a short time before (October 18, 1685), had revoked the Edict of Nantes in France, and had driven from that country thousands upon thousands of Huguenots. Though a Tory body and friendly to the king, parliament rejected the king's proposal; but to show its good will, it voted James a large additional grant for the increase of the army.

Angry and disappointed, the king prorogued parliament and undertook to obtain his end in another way. Claiming the right as sovereign to grant special dispensation to any one who had broken a law, he at once applied this claim to the Test Act, and appointed Sir Edward Hales, a Roman Catholic, to a colonelship in the new army. That he should not be without legal support for what he had done, he had Hales's coachman inform against his master for violating the act.[1] The case was tried before a packed bench of judges and decided in the king's favor. Immediately James began to shower appointments on Roman Catholics, and Protestant England was confronted, not only with the overthrow of its constitutional liberties, but also with a possible Roman Catholic control of the government.

James, encouraged by his success, applied his policy to the affairs of the church. For trifling offences he removed clergy of the church of England and put Roman Catholics in their place. He established an ecclesiastical commission,[2] in defiance of the act of parliament passed in 1641, and disciplined those of the clergy who opposed him. He attacked the universities, appointing one Massey, a Roman Catholic, as dean of Christ

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 233; Figgis, Part II, pp. 27–28.
[2] Figgis, Part II, pp. 28–29.

church, Oxford, removing the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and driving out the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, who refused to elect as their president one of his own appointees.[1] He received the papal nuncio in 1687, — the first nuncio in England since Mary's reign, — and conferred on him distinguished honors. He openly encouraged the Roman Catholics by authorizing the founding of schools and monasteries, and by encouraging them to issue pamphlets and books defending their faith.[3] Then, as if to show that what he had done would be defended, if necessary by force, he established an army of thirteen thousand men at Hounslow Heath, near London, and sent Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, to Ireland as lord lieutenant, to remodel the Irish army and, as was generally believed, to drive the Protestants from the island.[4]

Slowly these many measures had their effect. The English people saw Roman Catholicism gradually creeping over the land. Tories, who hitherto had been devoted to the king, began to see that, by supporting the Stuarts and defending the doctrine of passive obedience, they were encouraging the success of the Roman Catholic cause, which they hated more than they did that of the Whigs.

286. The Declaration of Indulgence: Opposition of the Bishops. — James was strangely blind to the effects of his policy. He believed success was certain to crown his efforts. That he was rapidly incurring the disfavor of all, save Roman Catholics, in England, he failed to comprehend. To him silence meant the acceptance of the schemes that he had so much at heart.

In 1687 he took a new step. Without consent of parliament, he issued a declaration of indulgence, and the next year (April 27, 1688), repeated it, granting freedom of conscience to all, suspending penal laws against Roman Catholics and Non-conformists, remitting all penalties already incurred for breaches of these laws, allowing entire freedom of worship, and dis-

[1] Figgis, Part II, pp. 29–30.
[2] Colby, No. 82; Figgis, Part II, p. 35.
[3] Compare Lee, No. 178.
[4] Figgis, Part II, p. 34.

pensing with all oaths of supremacy.[1] This declaration favored Non-conformists, such as Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers, as well as Roman Catholics, and was by many received with satisfaction. But its true purpose was too evident. James had not concealed the fact that, in his determination to gain the support of the Non-conformists, to humiliate the Anglican church, and to give free rein to his Roman Catholic policy, he was ready to set not only the Anglican Tories, but the law of the land, at defiance.

Thus far little outward opposition to the king's policy had been expressed. But in 1687 and 1688 two indications of popular displeasure ought to have caused the king to pause and consider the wishes of the majority of the people of England. In the first place, James failed in his attempt to pack a parliament, and had to postpone summoning that body, fearing defeat; and secondly, when he ordered the clergy to read the Declaration of Indulgence from their pulpits, he met with a refusal from certain bishops, who addressed a petition to him, begging him to desist.[2] But these signs of popular and ecclesiastical disapproval only angered the king and strengthened his determination. He ordered the seven bishops who had signed the petition—at their head, Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury—to be tried for libel. On June 29 the trial took place. Public excitement increased; popular demonstrations in favor of the bishops were held, notably in Cornwall, where one of the accused, Trelawney of Bristol, was much beloved; and even in the court itself it was found difficult to fill the bench of judges. On June 30, when, after a day's trial,[3] the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty," the joy of the people knew no bounds, and even the soldiers on Hounslow Heath joined in the celebration.[4]

[1] Gee and Hardy, No. CXXI; Adams and Stephens, No 234; Figgis, Part II, pp. 36–38. [2] Kendall, No. 98; Figgis, Part II, pp. 39–40.

[3] Kendall, No. 99; Figgis, Part II, pp. 41–45.

[4] Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group XIX, pp. 170–180. "There was an infinite of bonfires on Saturday night, and in some streets they stuck all the posts

287. The Revolution of 1688. — James was not deterred from his course. He planned to bring the case of the bishops before his ecclesiastical commission and to proceed against all the clergy who had refused to read the Declaration. But the spirit of the nation was aroused. "The cause of the church and the cause of freedom were now the same. The great majority of peers, both lay and spiritual, the universities, the clergy, the dissenters, the army, the navy, the landed gentry, the merchants, all, in short, who called themselves Protestants, were firmly knit together to oppose the king and his Romish advisers. The Tories no longer held to the doctrine of passive obedience: they now maintained that extreme oppression might justify resistance." [1]

Another event hastened the crisis. Until 1688 James was without a male heir, and in the event of his death, his daughter Mary, wife of the Protestant stadtholder of Holland, William, Prince of Orange, would succeed him. However, the birth of a son on June 10 of that year entirely altered the situation, for it guaranteed to the Roman Catholics the continuance of a government and a policy favorable to them. The Protestants saw no relief ahead, and their leaders determined to act at once. Seven prominent men, some Whigs and some Tories, led by the earl of Danby, addressed a letter in cipher to the prince of Orange, inviting him to come to England to uphold and protect their constitutional liberties.[2]

This *invitation to William* was exceedingly significant, for it promised an entire reversal of England's home and foreign

with lights, and in Houlbourn they had a sort of machine with 3 and 400 candles in it, which they carried in procession with a mighty rabble after it. I hear that for the prince's birth there were not above a dozen fires 'twixt Cheering Cross and Somerset House, and yet on Saturday night there were no less than six and fifty, besides the candles wherewith the windows were adorned, which is a new way they have found of showing their joy without incurring the penalty of making bonfires without leave." — (From a private letter of the time.)

[1] Hale, *Fall of the Stuarts* (Epoch Series), p. 129.

[2] Figgis, Part II, pp. 46–48.

policy. For fifteen years William of Orange had been the leader of those who opposed the aggressions of Louis XIV. Only once had England overcome her hostility for Holland sufficiently to join in an alliance against France; and on no occasion had she actually taken up arms against the great Roman Catholic king who was threatening the peace of Europe. Louis had been able to buy off England by his subsidies to Charles II, and these subsidies he had continued to pay to James. Thus, up to this time England's king had been favorable both to Roman Catholicism and to France.

But William of Orange was "the champion of Protestantism and the liberties of Europe against French ascendency."[1] Two years before the invitation was sent to him, he had formed a great league of the European states, to prevent Louis from interfering in the affairs of the empire. Of this league England was not a member; for, as long as James was king, England could not take the place Elizabeth had given her as the upholder of Protestantism and the enemy of France.

To William the year 1688 was favorable, because Louis was at war with the league and could not easily attack Holland or aid James. He therefore *accepted the invitation* of the English leaders, and on October 10, 1688, despatched to England a proclamation, setting forth his reasons for accepting, and declaring that his only object was "to obtain the assembling of a free and legal parliament which should decide all questions, public and private." Nine days later he set sail for England, with seventy ships and a Dutch army of fifteen thousand men. He disembarked at Torquay, on November 5, Guy Fawkes Day, a day propitious to the Protestants. Peasantry, townspeople, and local militia flocked to his standard. In the north and east successful movements in his favor destroyed the king's hopes there, while defections from the royal army were of daily occurrence. Lord Cornbury, the king's nephew, Lord Churchill, later duke of Marlborough, his favorite and

[1] Seeley, *The Growth of British Policy*, Vol. II, p. 277.

protégé,[1] and even his daughter Anne and her husband, Prince George of Denmark, joined the insurgents.[2]

James was now ready to make concessions,[3] but it was too late. William was marching on London, and the city itself was filled with rioters. Having first placed the queen and the little prince on a vessel bound for France, James left his palace on the banks of the Thames, and made his way to the coast. Unfortunately he was there stopped by fishermen and brought back to London. He was lodged in Whitehall, at the very time when William was entering Windsor. But, as it was considered unwise for him to remain there, he was sent to Rochester on December 18, whence, four days later, he was allowed to escape, first to Ireland and afterward to France. There he sought the protection and became a pensioner of the French king, whose ally he had been.[4]

In the meantime,[5] William entered London amidst great demonstrations of joy, and conferred with the leaders regarding the organization of the government. After considering many plans, William and the others agreed to request the House of Lords to meet and to act in conjunction with a body composed of members of the parliaments of Charles II, together with the officials of London.[6] By them William was requested to act as temporary governor,[7] and the people were instructed to send their representatives, elected in the usual manner, to a convention (not a parliament, since a king had not called it), that should meet on January 22, 1689.[8]

The Convention met *to decide the question of the succession.* It resolved that James, by withdrawing from the kingdom, had abdicated, and that, therefore, the throne was vacant. It also resolved that experience had shown it to be inconsistent

[1] Kendall, No. 100; Figgis, Part II, p. 53.

[2] Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group XX, pp. 181–192.

[3] Figgis, Part II, p. 51.

[4] Figgis, Part II, pp. 55–60.

[5] See the declaration issued by the "rebels" from Nottingham; Kendall, No. 101.

[6] Lee, No. 181.

[7] Lee, No. 182.

[8] Lee, Nos. 183–186.

with the safety and welfare of the nation that a Roman Catholic prince should rule the kingdom. The Convention then offered the regency to William and the crown to Mary; but on William's refusing to be "his wife's gentleman usher," it offered the crown to William and Mary jointly, with the understanding that the actual government of the kingdom should be in the hands of the king.[1]

The Convention further decided that an attempt should be made to define, in a formal document, the fundamental principles of the English constitution. This was done in a famous constitutional document known as the *Declaration of Right*, which was accepted by William and Mary on February 19, 1689; and later, as the *Bill of Rights*, was made a part of the law of the land by act of parliament, on December 16, 1689.[2] By this memorable document, the Bill of Rights, certain constitutional privileges of parliament and people were exactly stated, and declared to be the unchangeable law of the kingdom.

The *provisions of the bill* will be readily recognized as the outgrowth of the controversies of the period since 1660. The rights that James had claimed, to dispense with the laws, to establish an ecclesiastical commission, to levy money in any form without the consent of parliament, to maintain a standing army dependent on the king instead of on parliament, were declared illegal. The right of the people to petition, as the bishops had done, the right of electors to choose members of parliament without interference, the right of freedom of speech in parliament, and the necessity of frequent meetings of parliament for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, were all declared inalienable parts of the ancient rights and liberties of the English people. Lastly, a settlement clause was inserted, stating that no Roman Catholic could possess the crown, and that after the death of William and

[1] Lee, No. 188; Figgis, Part I, pp. 63–67.

[2] Gee and Hardy, No. CXXII; Adams and Stephens, No. 239; Lee, No. 189.

Mary the succession should go to their children, or, in default of issue, to Anne and her children, or, in default of such, to the children of William by any other wife. After Mary's death, in 1694, and the death of Anne's only surviving son, the duke of Gloucester, in 1701, a further clause was added, settling the succession upon the granddaughter of James I, Sophia of Hanover, on the ground that she was the nearest Protestant heir.[1]

288. Significance and Consequences of the Revolution: Parliament, the Church, Foreign Policy. — Thus was this "great and glorious" revolution accomplished. Won without bloodshed, it marked a new era in England's history; for it overthrew the doctrine of the divine right of kings and the passive obedience of the people, which had prevailed under the Stuarts, and substituted therefor the *authority of parliament*, and the right of the nation to resist the pretensions of its sovereigns. Though in choosing William and Mary as sovereigns and in arranging the succession, parliament had accepted, more definitely than ever it had done before, the principle of heredity, nevertheless, it had clearly stated certain things that the king could not do, and had taken to itself certain of the royal prerogatives, which had been in dispute for nearly a century. Thus the revolution of 1688 marked not only the close of that begun in 1640, but also the beginning of another revolution, which, little by little, in the course of the following century, won for parliament the control of government and the position hitherto occupied by the crown. Up to this time parliament had had no part in the actual government of the kingdom. But, thenceforth, acts of parliament took the place of the king's orders in council, and a remarkable transformation was effected in the constitutional history of England.

Three times before 1688 — in the cases of Edward II, Richard II, and Charles I — had parliament set aside a king; but

[1] Gee and Hardy, No. CXXIV; Adams and Stephens, No. 243; Lee, No. 190.

in none of these instances was parliament acting in any sense for the nation at large. The parliaments of 1307 and 1399 had been wholly under the control of the nobility, and the knights and burgesses had been of little importance; while the parliament of 1649 had been no parliament at all, containing, as it did, only the representatives of a religious faction. But in 1688 parliament expressed the will of the nation as nearly as the conditions of the time permitted. The House of Lords was still the more important and influential body, but the House of Commons was rapidly advancing toward the position that it was soon to occupy, that of leadership in the government.

But the right to vote was limited; for in the counties only freeholders possessing land of an annual rental value of forty shillings ($150–$200) could vote, whereas poorer freeholders and all copyholders had no share in the elections. Probably, even within these limits, the counties were honestly represented, for the freeholders were not easily bribed; but the boroughs were always subject to influence of one kind or another. Many growing towns were not represented at all; others were at the disposal of town officials, great party leaders, or the king, the last-named of whom either changed the town charters to suit his purposes or compelled the towns to elect the men he wanted. At this time and for a century and a half (till 1832), borough representation was a farce.[1] Thus, in consequence of the revolution of 1688, power passed into the hands of parliament, but it can hardly be said to have passed into the hands of the representatives of the English people. Under the rule that followed, power was exercised for the most part by those great Whig and Tory families that were able to control the elections.

Besides effecting this important change in the position of parliament, the revolution made possible an equally important change in the *position of the established church*. The revolution

[1] Compare the "Bill of Costs for a Tory Election, in 1715," in Kendall, No. 103.

had been in large part the work of the Anglican church, which thenceforward had no cause to fear either the Roman Catholics on one side or the Dissenters on the other. The former, wholly discredited by the revolution, were, by special laws of the ensuing few years, disqualified from holding office, bearing arms, or retaining benefices, and for a century and more were to be without place or part in English political or ecclesiastical history.[1] The passing of the Bill of Rights, which substituted for the oaths of supremacy and allegiance an oath of simple allegiance, led to a revolt of the stricter members of the Anglican church, who believed in the doctrine of the divine right of kings and supported the Stuarts. This body, or sect, was known as the Non-jurors, because its members refused to take the oath prescribed.[2] The Dissenters (Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers[3]), who had hitherto hoped for some kind of a compromise (comprehension) with the established church, now gave up that hope and began to erect churches of their own. The Toleration Act of 1689 gave them the right to worship independently;[4] but from the advantages of this act all Roman Catholics and such as denied the Trinity were expressly debarred. Thenceforth the church of England held a position of independence and security that it had not enjoyed before. It was relieved of all fear of the Roman Catholics, and was left in full control of its own organization and great endowments of land and revenue. The Anglican church became, for the first time in any exact and well-defined sense of the term, the established church of England.

The revolution of 1688 entirely altered the *foreign policy* of England, for it committed her to prolonged and almost unbroken war with France. Since the marriage of Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV, to Charles I, the Stuart kings had been naturally inclined to enter into alliances with the French

[1] Lee, No. 191. [2] Figgis, Part II, p. 73. [3] Lee, No. 192.
[4] Gee and Hardy, No. CXXIII; Adams and Stephens, No. 238; Figgis, Part II, p. 70.

kings. With the rise of Louis XIV, France had become the preponderating power in Europe and the disturber of the European peace. At the same time, however, William III, as stadtholder of Holland, had become the head of a coalition of the European powers against Louis XIV; and now that he had become also king of England, he was under obligations to bring England into the alliance with the powers opposed to France. This he was able to do, because, in the first place, England, as a leading Protestant kingdom, could not well refuse to stand by the other Protestant kingdoms in opposing the aggressions of the Roman Catholic king who was persecuting the Protestants of France and had let loose his dragonnades upon the Protestants of the Palatinate. In the second place, England was compelled to fight Louis XIV, because the latter, by sending troops to Ireland, was about to aid James II to recover his throne.

But there was a third and more important reason why England should be drawn into war with France. As a colonial and commercial power France had taken the place of Spain and, in part, of Holland. She had established colonies in America and Africa, and was seeking to establish a colonial and commercial empire. England was doing the same: she had colonies on the American seaboard, in the West Indies, in Africa, and in India; she was developing her navy and her commerce, and was gradually acquiring a tremendous interest in the world outside the island kingdom. Having helped to overthrow the political power of Spain and the commercial power of Holland, England was bound to continue the struggle with France. This new rivalry between France and England led to a struggle, not for the control of feudal fiefs as in former years, but for the supremacy of the seas and the possession of the lands beyond the seas. When, therefore, in May, 1689, William III, as stadtholder of the United Provinces, joined the League of Augsburg, and five days later, as king of England, declared war upon France, a new era in the foreign policy of England was begun. On December 30,

England joined the League of Augsburg, and that coalition, now composed of the principal countries of Europe, was transformed into the Grand Alliance. A mighty struggle, in which England was to take a leading part, was about to begin.

Thus the revolution of 1688 not only overthrew a doctrine and a dynasty, and ushered in the rule of parliament and new methods of government, but it also inaugurated England's career as a leading participant in Continental affairs and the greatest naval power in the world.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER XI.—The history of the early Stuarts and the Puritan revolution has been entirely rewritten by Gardiner, Firth, and Shaw. All secondary histories are of necessity based upon their researches. Of Gardiner it has been well said that he found the story of the first Stuarts legend and left it history. His works are as follows: *History of England*, 1603–1642, 10 vols. (1883–1884, new ed. 1899); *History of the Great Civil War*, 1642–1649, 3 vols. (1886–1892); *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, 1649–1656, 3 vols. (1894–1901, 4 vol. ed. 1903). He had planned to carry his history to 1660, but died before completing his work. In addition, Gardiner has written the lives of Strafford (Wentworth) and Laud in the *Dictionary of National Biography; The First two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution* (1891), Epoch Series, the best brief outline; *Cromwell's Place in History* (1896), and *Cromwell* for the Goupil Series (published also in cheaper form, 1901), which contain his matured views upon the great Protector. Firth's publications deal chiefly with the period from 1640 to 1660: the prefaces to *The Clarke Papers*, 4 vols. (1891–1901); *Cromwell* (1900), in Heroes of the Nation Series, the best life of Cromwell; *Cromwell's Army* (1902), a work of great value. He has written also the life of Clarendon (Hyde) in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Additional works on Cromwell are Carlyle's *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, 2 vols. (1845), and Morley's *Oliver Cromwell* (1900). Shaw is the only writer who has dealt adequately with the church during the war and revolution: *A History of the English Church during the Civil War and the Commonwealth*, 1640–1660, 2 vols. (1900).

There are many lives of Sir Walter Ralegh. The following list begins with the names of biographers whose works are most available for young readers, and closes with those whose works are of a mature and scholarly character: Creighton (1877), Taylor (1902), Gosse (1886), Southey (1851),

Hume (1897), St. John (1868), Edwards (1868), Stebbing (1891, new ed. 1897). The most convenient life of Archbishop Laud is Hutton's *William Laud* (1895), inclined to be eulogistic. *Strafford's Letters and Despatches* (1739) is important, and Cooper's *Life of Strafford* (1874) is the only elaborate biography. For Ireland and Strafford's work there, see Joyce's *Ireland* (1893), excellent; and Morris's *Ireland, 1494–1868* (1898), good. For Scotland, the second volume of Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*, carrying the subject to 1689, is in all respects admirable.

The commercial policy of the Stuart kings has yet to be written. Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, Vol. II, is the standard work. Warner's *Landmarks* contains a valuable chapter on the trading companies (Chap. XI). For the Eastern trade and the East India Company, Hunter's *History of India*, to 1623 (1899), Vol. I, is indispensable; but a shorter work is by Innes, *A Short History of the British in India* (1902). The latter, however, deals chiefly with the later history of the company. For the Merchant Adventurers, see Lingelbach's introduction to *The Merchant Adventurers of England* (1902). For agriculture, Prothero's *Pioneers and Progress* has two valuable chapters (II and III). On the colonial policy of England, the only satisfactory treatment is in Egerton's *Short History of British Colonial Policy* (1897), though it presupposes considerable knowledge of the subject. Lucas's *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, is a compendium of facts regarding colonial origins and development: Vol. I, *European, Asiatic and Indian Ocean Dependencies* (1888); Vol. II, *West Indies* (1890); Vol. III, *West Africa* (1894); Vol. IV, *South and East Africa* (1898); and Vol. V, *Canada* (1901). For Cromwell's policy, the articles by Beer, "Cromwell's Policy in its Economic Aspects," in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vols. XVI, XVII, are suggestive and good.

On the constitutional side, Hallam is useful; the preface to Prothero's *Select Statutes* (later portion dealing with James I) is admirable; Taswell Langmead's *English Constitutional History* (5th ed. 1896), Chap. XIII, is helpful in default of something better; Jenks's *Constitutional Experiments of the Commonwealth* (1890) has merit; Borgeaud's *Rise of Democracy in Old and New England* (1894) is most suggestive; and Gooch's *History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century* (1899) is worthy of careful attention. Two noteworthy articles deserve mention: Osgood's "Political Ideas of the Puritans," *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1891, p. 1; and Dow's "The Political Ideal of the English Commonwealth," *English Historical Review*, April, 1891. These should be read in conjunction with Figgis's *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings*. Medley and Montague are particularly useful for this period.

The period of the later Stuarts has not yet received the attention of investigators, and is barren of works of an authoritative character. Airy has written *The English Restoration and Louis XIV*, to 1679, in the Epoch series (1889), and *Charles II.* (1901), in the Goupil series. The latter, though written twelve years after the first, shows little advance in an understanding of the king and his policy. Airy has also edited Burnett's *History of My Own Time*, to the close of the reign of Charles II, 2 vols. (1897, 1901). Hale's *The Fall of the Stuarts and Western Europe*, 1678–1697, Epoch series (1889), continues Airy's book in the same series and presents an excellent account of the period. Macaulay's brilliant, but eminently one-sided, *History of England* (many editions), is attractive to read, but its judgments must be accepted with caution. Ranke's *History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century*, is hardly available for any except well-equipped readers. Lister's *Life of Clarendon* (1838), and Christie's *Life of Shaftesbury* (1871), are standard works, while Pepys's *Diary* (1659–1669), Evelyn's *Diary* (1620–1706), Clarendon's *Autobiography*, and Temple's *Memoirs* are valuable sources of information. Brief lives of all the principal personages of the period can be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

On England's naval expansion and foreign policy, the most important works are Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783* (1889); Seeley's *Expansion of England* (1883), and *The Growth of British Policy*, 2 vols. (1895). Tanner's "Administration of the Navy from the Restoration to the Revolution," *English Historical Review*, 1897–1898, is valuable for closer study. Woodward's *The Expansion of the British Empire* (1899) is admirable, and the best book for a beginner. For Continental affairs at this time, there is no better book than Wakeman's *Europe, 1589–1715* (Periods Series).

CHAPTER XII.

EXPANSION OF ENGLAND UNDER PARLIAMENTARY RULE.

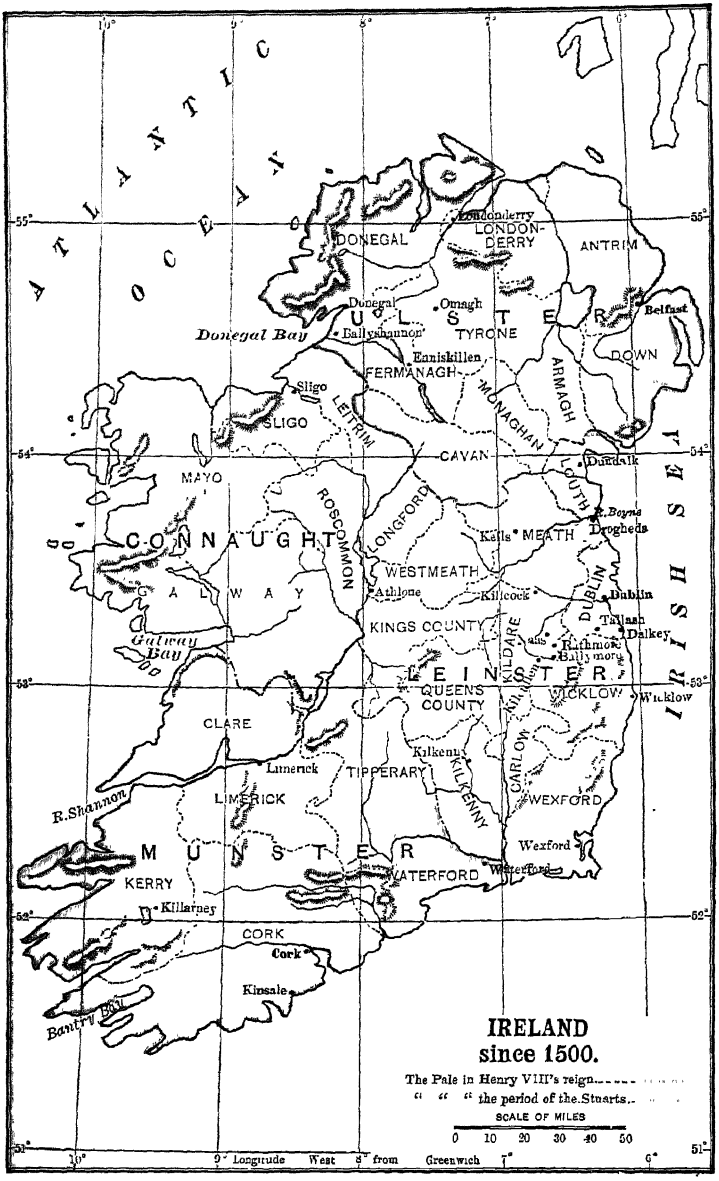
289. William III. — William III was a foreigner, and belonged to a people little liked by the English. He was unfamiliar with the customs and traditions of English government and life, was naturally cold and suspicious, and seems to have had a strain of heartlessness in his nature, as is shown by some incidents of his early life and by his attitude toward the massacre of Glencoe. Always old beyond his years, and brought up in the midst of factional quarrels in Holland, he had learned early to be wary and politic. He came to England determined to rule honorably and well, but his heart was not in his work. From the beginning he found himself confronted with the rivalries of Whigs and Tories, all of whom were uncertain, because of the changes wrought by the revolution itself, just how the government should be carried on. Caring little for the problems of government, and desiring chiefly to reconcile parties, that he might make England strong to aid him in his military enterprises, he naturally was inclined to favor compromise. As king he was neither Whig nor Tory, Anglican nor Dissenter. He chose his advisers at first from both parties. At the very outset of his reign he tried to persuade parliament to pass a "comprehension" bill reconciling Anglicans and Dissenters; and when that failed, he favored the Toleration Act, in order to bind the Dissenters to him. War against Louis XIV was his mission in life; every thing else was secondary. So far as he personally was concerned, every act of his government was but a means to the eventual reduction of the power of France in Europe.

290. Resistance of the Scottish Highlanders: Glencoe. — Before William could undertake his chief work in earnest, he had to make secure his control in Scotland and Ireland as well as in England, and become undisputed king of the three kingdoms.

James II had governed these two lands as conquered provinces. In Scotland he had given the government into the hands of the Scottish Episcopalians, who checked every attempt of the Covenanters to gain control. When James II fled from England, the Covenanters, led by the Argyles of the Campbell clan, turning the tables on the Episcopalians, drove the established clergy from their parishes, abolished Episcopacy, and proclaimed William and Mary sovereigns of Scotland. But trouble followed these rather high-handed measures. John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, a noble of the Graham clan, aroused the Highlanders and took up arms for James. At Killiecrankie, on July 27, 1689, his followers, armed with sword and target, won a dashing victory over the soldiers of the new government, who were armed with musket and the new-fangled bayonet just introduced from France. But the brilliant victory availed little, for Claverhouse was slain in the battle, and without him at their head the clans were unable to hold together. In 1691 William bought their allegiance with gifts of money and promises of amnesty. His success, however, was stained by the slaughter of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, victims to the old-time hate of the Campbells, who as Whigs and Covenanters had obtained control of the government.[1] That bloody murder of February 13, 1692, was long remembered by the Macdonalds, who during the next century never lost opportunity to seek revenge.

291. National Uprising in Ireland: Battle of the Boyne. — In Ireland, William had to fight more bitterly for his crown than he had in Scotland. The able but unscrupulous Tyrconnel, whom James had sent over to hold Ireland for the Stuarts, had done his work well. He had made the Roman Catholics

[1] Colby, No. 84; Kendall, No. 102; Figgis, Part II, pp. 85–92.


ATLANTIC OCEAN
IRISH SEA
Londonderry
DONEGAL
LONDON-DERRY
ANTRIM
Donegal
Omagh
ULSTER
Belfast
Donegal Bay
Ballyshannon
TYRONE
Enniskillen
DOWN
FERMANAGH
ARMAGH
Sligo
LEITRIM
MONAGHAN
SLIGO
CAVAN
Dundalk
MAYO
LOUTH
R. Boyne
Drogheda
CONNAUGHT
ROSCOMMON
LONGFORD
Kells
MEATH
GALWAY
WESTMEATH
Athlone
Killcock
DUBLIN
Dublin
Talaan
Dalkey
KINGS COUNTY
Galway Bay
Rathmore
Ballymore
LEINSTER
QUEENS COUNTY
KILDARE
WICKLOW
Wicklow
CLARE
Kilkenny
Limerick
TIPPERARY
CARLOW
KILKENNY
WEXFORD
R. Shannon
LIMERICK
MUNSTER
Wexford
KERRY
WATERFORD
Waterford
Killarney
CORK
Cork
Kinsale
Bantry Bay
IRELAND
since 1500.
The Pale in Henry VIII's reign
" " " the period of the Stuarts
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
10° 9° 8° 7° 6°
Longitude West from Greenwich
55° 54° 53° 52° 51°

the dominant power, and had roused all the Irish hatred of the Protestants and the English. Consequently, when William became king of England, the greater part of Ireland was in the hands of Roman Catholics, and the nation, loyal to James, sprang to arms in order to throw off the burden of English Protestantism. English and Scottish Protestants everywhere fled from the country. Only in Ulster, in the towns of Londonderry and Enniskillen, had they forces enough to resist the advancing Roman Catholics. In March, 1689, James II arrived from France with aid furnished by Louis XIV, and began the siege of these towns. The fight was to the death, for already had the Irish parliament, wholly under the control of Roman Catholics, declared for the independence of Ireland, confiscated the lands of the English, and passed an act of attainder against two thousand English and Scottish Protestants. The siege of Londonderry is a famous event in history. For one hundred and five days the heroic people held out, until at last a fleet sent by William, in August, 1689, saved the day, and prevented northern Ireland from falling into the possession of the Roman Catholics.

Encouraged by this success, William himself came over, and with his general, Schomberg, a Dutchman and Huguenot refugee, pushed southward and met the forces of James at the river Boyne, in Leinster, north of Dublin. There James and his French and Irish allies were hopelessly defeated.[1] The battle of the Boyne (July 1, 1690) destroyed the last hope of the Stuart king, and he fled to France. The flight of James left the Irish face to face with the struggle for their own independence, and for four months they fought like heroes. But William was too great a general for them to hope for success. Cork and Kinsale in the south, Athlone in the west, and finally, after two sieges, Limerick in the southwest, were taken, and the whole of Ireland passed under English and Protestant control.

[1] Figgis, Part II, pp. 83–84.

With the peace of Limerick (October, 1691), the war was ended. Ten thousand Irish soldiers were allowed to withdraw to France, and the definite promise was made that Roman Catholics in Ireland should be protected. But this promise was not kept. As events were to prove, the bigotry of the Roman Catholics under Tyrconnel was to be fully matched from this time forward by the bigotry of the Protestants in the Irish parliament. From 1690 to 1778, a Roman Catholic in Ireland was treated like a criminal and an outlaw.

The battle of the Boyne and the capture of Limerick were of great importance to William, for they saved the day for him, not only in Ireland, but also in England and in France.

292. The War with France: Victory of La Hogue. — In May, 1689, before he undertook the subjugation of Ireland, William had declared war against France, and had sent troops under Churchill [1] to coöperate with the Continental allies. Louis's great object was to strike a quick and decisive blow, in order to force upon the allies a humiliating peace. When, therefore, his general, the great Luxembourg, defeated the English and Dutch at Fleurus in the Netherlands (June 30, 1690), and on the same day the French fleet defeated Admiral Torrington off Beachy Head in Sussex, Louis seemed to have gained his end. All that was needed to complete the victory was success in Ireland.

For William the moment was a critical one. His position was insecure in England. Disaffection was widely prevalent, and Tories like Marlborough and Admiral Russell were already in correspondence with James.[2] The Jacobites, a party favorable to the Stuarts, were forming, ready to welcome the Stuarts back to England should Louis and James be victorious. The Convention, which had been made a legal parliament on February 20, 1689, had been dissolved by William in January, 1690, because of the quarrels of the Whigs and Tories; and William

[1] Created earl of Marlborough in 1689, and duke of Marlborough in 1702.
[2] Figgis, Part II, pp. 92–94.

had even threatened to abdicate the throne. But the victory of the Boyne entirely changed the situation. The Jacobites lost ground; the nation, fearing a French invasion after the defeat off Beachy Head, demanded a cessation of party strife; the victory gave new prestige to the government of William and Mary; and when William returned from Ireland after the peace of Limerick, he was greeted by the nation with expressions of loyalty and devotion. He disgraced Marlborough by depriving him of all his offices in 1691, but left Russell in command of the fleet. For this expression of confidence he received a speedy reward. While he himself was in Flanders and was losing Namur and the battle of Steinkirk[1] (1692), Russell, on May 19, 1692, won the sea fight of La Hogue, which was on the sea what the battle of the Boyne had been on the land. This victory of the English fleet over the powerful armament of France was not only the first great sea victory in the maritime struggle between England and France, but it was the first of a series of victories that made England mistress of the seas.

The remainder of the war was for England indecisive. William was unsuccessful, except in the capture of Namur in 1695; but the staying powers of the allies wore out the strength of France. Louis, dependent as he was on swift and decisive victories, finally acknowledged that he could not succeed, and in 1697 signed the treaty of Ryswick. By this treaty he recognized William as king of England and Anne as his successor, thus yielding one of the chief points for which the war had been undertaken.

293. Parties at Home. — While the war was dragging on its weary course abroad, party conflicts were producing confusion and discouragement at home. The Whigs, having been the victors in 1688, were in the main in control until 1698. But meanwhile they passed through two serious crises: one in 1690, at the time of the battle of the Boyne; the other in 1692,

[1] Figgis, Part II, pp. 98–100.

before the victory of La Hogue was won. Had either of these victories gone to the French, the Whigs would have been overthrown and James might have been reinstated as king of England. But the victory of La Hogue gave the Whigs an established position, and the Whig ministry, called the Junto, which William appointed in 1695, remained in office until 1698. In this year, owing to the prolongation and great expense of the war, a reaction took place in favor of the Tories, and though peace had been made in 1697, the Tories won in the elections of 1698. They retained their control until 1701, when, owing to further aggressions of Louis XIV, the Whig supremacy was reëstablished. When Anne came to the throne in 1702, the Whigs were turned out of office and Tory leadership was restored. Into the details of these party struggles we need not go; it will be sufficient to sum up briefly the results of William's reign in government, legislation, and finance.

294. Government and Legislation under William III. — As king, William was no figurehead. He loved rule as much as had any Stuart, and he claimed prerogatives that his chief supporters, the Whigs, did not like. He was at the same time king, prime minister, minister of foreign affairs, and commander-in-chief of the army; and he exercised each one of these functions. He presided at the meetings of his chief advisers, made appointments, and transacted a great deal of business, without asking the opinion of any one. His chief advisers and heads of great departments formed an inner committee of the Privy Council, later to be known as the Cabinet.[1] These ministers were appointed by the king, but were of no one party and in no way represented the majority in parliament. Their position was a difficult one, for many of them tried to serve two masters, king and parliament, at the same time.[2] They did not resign when the vote went against

[1] The name seems to have been used for the first time in 1711.

[2] Blauvelt, *The Development of Cabinet Government in England* (1902), Chaps. IV, V.

them; and if dismissed, went out singly, and not as a body. It was to be many years before the ministers as a body were to be held responsible by parliament for the acts of the king, and to resign as a body if parliament defeated any of their measures.

The House of Commons was inferior both in dignity and in importance to the House of Lords. An ambitious commoner always hoped eventually to become a peer. Furthermore, the House was not a very efficient body, and its members, who were easily drawn off to cock-fighting, horse-racing, and tennis, took their responsibilities very lightly, and spent more of their time in quarrels and impeachments than in legislation. The commoners had no great leaders and but little party organization, though the Whigs were in the habit of meeting beforehand to consider important matters. But there was no system and no party unity, and the wits of the time — Defoe, Swift, Dryden, and others — made endless sport of the way in which parliamentary affairs were conducted.

Parliament succeeded, however, in passing a number of exceedingly important measures. The Convention, declaring itself a lawful parliament,[1] passed the Mutiny Act,[2] which gave parliament the control of the army; the Toleration Act,[3] which legally recognized the Non-conformist churches, as well as the church of England; and the Bill of Rights,[4] which embodied in the form of law the principal provisions of the Declaration of Right. The same parliament in 1689 settled upon the king for the use of the crown a fixed sum, known as the civil list,[5] thus separating for the first time the private expenses of the king from the public expenses of the government. At the same time it made a definite appropriation for government, at first for four years, afterward for only one year, thus compelling the king to summon parliament annually. By neglecting to renew an old censorship act of 1662, it made

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 235.
[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 237.
[3] Adams and Stephens, No. 238.
[4] Adams and Stephens, No. 239; Lee, No. 189.
[5] Adams and Stephens, No. 236.

possible freedom of the press; and thenceforth newspapers and pamphlets were of great influence politically. In 1694 the second Whig parliament passed a Triennial Bill,[1] requiring the king to issue summons for the election of a new parliament every three years; and in 1696 the third Whig parliament reformed the procedure in trials for high treason and made it more just and humane.[2] Lastly, the Tory parliament of 1701 passed the Act of Settlement,[3] which not only settled the succession upon the Hanoverians, but also placed definite limitations upon the power of the king. Each of these acts marked a great constitutional advance in the direction of better government.

295. Sources and Conditions of England's Wealth. — Of equal importance with the constitutional changes were the changes taking place at this time in the financial condition of England. In the wars of the next century, victory was to be, not with the power that possessed the bravest soldiers and sailors, but with that which could furnish the most money. Though William was one of the ablest generals in Europe, he could have done but little had not England provided him liberally with men, ships, and the munitions of war; and all these things cost money.

After the revolution of 1688, parliament having gained control of the public purse, claimed the right to say how the money should be used and to know how it had been spent. By this revolution the financial condition prevailing under the Tudors and Stuarts was brought to an end. Thenceforth no king would be compelled to raise money illegally or to receive a pension from a king of France on the ground that parliament would not take the responsibility of seeing that there was money enough in the treasury to run the government. Parliament was managing the funds and was consequently obliged to see that the supplies granted were duly raised by taxation.

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 241.
[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 242.
[3] Adams and Stephens, No. 243.

In taking these powers to itself, parliament undoubtedly acted as a check upon the king; but it also relieved him of a great burden. The finances of England thenceforth stood on a new footing.

Money was raised by customs duties, excise duties, stamp duties, and a tax on land and personal property. Customs duties were import duties on sugar, salt, tea, coffee, tobacco, and wines brought into the country, and export duties on English manufactured goods, such as woollen cloths, sent out of the country. Export duties were, however, eventually abolished. The excise was a tax on articles of consumption produced in England, such as malt, coal, glass, bricks, leather, soap, candles, and paper. Afterward the term excise, which had a hateful sound to the English people, included licenses to trade and to sell liquors, and taxes on luxuries, such as carriages, horses, cards, etc. Stamp duties were duties from stamps on documents of all kinds. The tax on land and personal property took the place of the old tenths and fifteenths and of the subsidies levied by the Tudors.

Notwithstanding the fact that the amounts thus raised were large, they were insufficient for the wars, and it became necessary to add to them by means of loans. Formerly goldsmiths and private individuals had made such loans, but without any certainty, since the Stop of the Exchequer, that they would receive the principal or even the interest. In 1692 parliament authorized the borrowing of £1,000,000, and the government asked for the money from any one who would lend it, promising to pay the interest regularly. Thus began the national debt of England.[1] In 1694, when William was in great and immediate need of funds to continue the war, and a general loan was not thought expedient, a new device was tried. Parliament said that those who would subscribe

[1] For the connection between the Stop of the Exchequer and the National Debt, see p. 391, note 2. For the whole subject of money and credit at this time, see Cunningham's *Outlines of English Industrial History*, Chap. VII. See also Colby, No. 85.

£1,200,000, the amount desired, might form a company and do private business. The formation of this company was the beginning of the Bank of England. Hitherto only private banks had existed, such as those of the goldsmiths; but now the government authorized the establishment of a public bank, which received deposits from private individuals, and when necessary, loaned these deposits to the government. These loans became a part of the national debt. The founding of the Bank of England introduced a new system of financiering, by encouraging the use of paper money and the saving of funds. The introduction of credit and capital made possible a great extension of business and stimulated enterprise. The moneyed class now came over loyally to the support of William's government.

The opportunities thus given to extend business and accumulate money were coincident with a new era in manufactures and commerce. Refugees from Holland and France — Flemings, Walloons, and Huguenots — had already begun to introduce new industries into England. Woollen manufactures had prevailed hitherto, but now silk, linen, and cotton began to be worked up, and scores of small articles, like combs, buttons, jewellery, and baskets, were made. Manufacturing increased twenty fold. Swifter and better methods were employed, but the processes were still crude, and production was on a small scale.

Parliament began to assume control in matters of commerce also. Hitherto private companies, incorporated by the crown, had been the leading agents in promoting trade and colonization. The great desire of all was to find new markets and to hold them for England, to destroy all commercial rivals like France, and to build up colonies that were to serve as a source of strength to the mother country. Parliament passed a navigation act in 1696, which had for its object a more efficient carrying out of the terms of the old act.[1] In the same year it established for the first time a permanent

[1] MacDonald, No. 43.

board of trade and plantations, to look after commerce and the colonies; and it refused to charter any more joint-stock companies, with a monopoly of trade or of territory. The only exception to this policy was the re-incorporation of the East India Company in 1698.

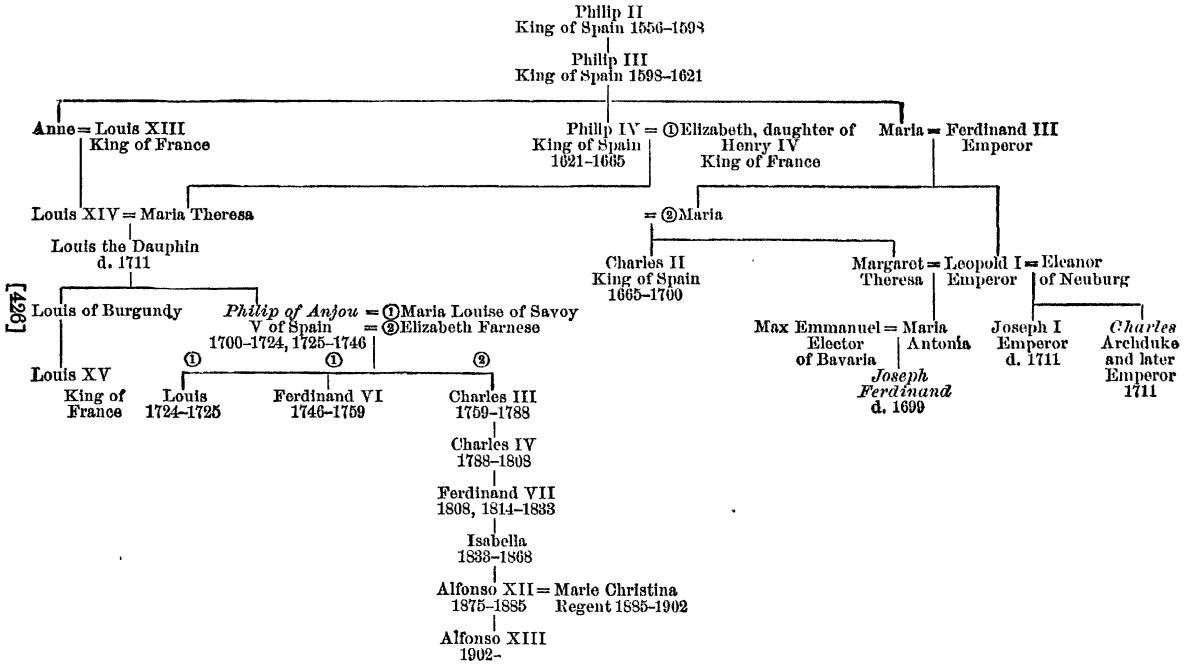
296. Accession of Anne.—England certainly needed all her wealth in the struggle before her. William died on February 20, 1702,[1] with his great work only in part completed. But his plans had been carefully matured, and he died in the full assurance that England would continue the war with France. The Whigs were in control, and the war fever was rapidly rising. Anne, Mary's sister, succeeded to the throne, according to the Act of Settlement, and entered on a reign of twelve years. She was a good woman, of quiet habits and simple tastes, loyal to her friends and to the church. Her husband, Prince George of Denmark, was of little consequence, either as a man or as an adviser of the queen. Accordingly, Anne, whose devotion to the church and its prerogatives made her a Tory, and whose loyalty to her friends made her submissive to stronger wills than her own, fell under the influence of the Marlboroughs, the duke and his wife, the latter of whom was an old and intimate friend of the queen.[2]

On her accession, Anne at once dismissed the Whigs from office, and placed in power Marlborough, who now found it convenient to become a Tory. She did not by any means give up all control, for she appointed her own ministers, and to some extent controlled their actions. She also received foreign ambassadors, and dictated despatches, and for the last time in English history she used the royal veto (1707). But Marlborough dictated the policy of the government, and for nine years was the real ruler of England. Though as a private person he was greedy and unscrupulous, he was the first general

[1] For traits of William and Mary, see Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group XXII, pp. 205–214; Figgis, Part II, pp. 126–133.

[2] Figgis, Part II, pp. 100–105.

CLAIMANTS TO THE SPANISH THRONE, 1698–1700.



of his age, and saw with unmistakable clearness the necessity of continuing the war policy. With all his moral defects — and they were many — Marlborough was the true successor of William III, and was destined to complete what William had begun, the discomfiture of Louis XIV and the humiliation of France.

297. War of the Spanish Succession: The Causes. — The general cause of the war was the attempt of France to place the Bourbons in control of the throne of Spain. A century after the death of Philip II (1598), Spain had fallen from her high estate and had become an object of strife among the great powers of Europe. She had no army, no money, and no credit. Some of her possessions were in the hands of England, others belonged to Holland and France; but the remaining territories still left her one of the largest kingdoms in Europe. The childlessness of her king, Charles II[1] (1665–1700), made the question of succession to her throne one of the most intricate and difficult of the problems that Europe was ever called upon to solve. Claims to the throne, based on marriages with Spanish infantas, were put forward by the king of France, the elector of Bavaria, and the archduke of Austria. Should France make good her claim, the peace of Europe would be threatened; and should she obtain possession of Spain's territory in the New World, England's commercial supremacy and her control over her colonies would be imperilled.

Louis XIV had realized that the powers of Europe would not allow him to annex Spain, and as far back as 1668 had sought to arrange a partition of the territory with the emperor. At that time England and Holland were unable to interfere, for they had their own difficulties to contend with; but after thirty

[1] Charles II was the great-grandson of Philip II, and a sickly king for whom the diplomats of Europe prophesied an early death. Louis XIV had anticipated the event as early as 1668, but the king tenaciously adhered to life for thirty-three years after that. There can be little doubt but that the king, who fully appreciated the situation, took a grim pleasure in living to despite his enemies.

years, with the revolution of 1688 completed and William of Orange king of England, their interest in the question became very keen. When, therefore, in 1698, the policy of partition was revived, it was with England and Holland, and not with the emperor, that Louis XIV treated. Two partition treaties were signed; the first in 1698, settling the Spanish succession upon Joseph Ferdinand of Bavaria, a child five years old; the second, after the death of Joseph in 1699, settling the succession upon the archduke Charles. All seemed to be happily arranged, when suddenly Charles II died (1700). To the surprise of every one, his will named the grandson of Louis XIV, Philip of Anjou, as his heir. Louis, throwing the partition treaties to the winds, accepted the legacy, and allowed Philip to enter on the inheritance.[1]

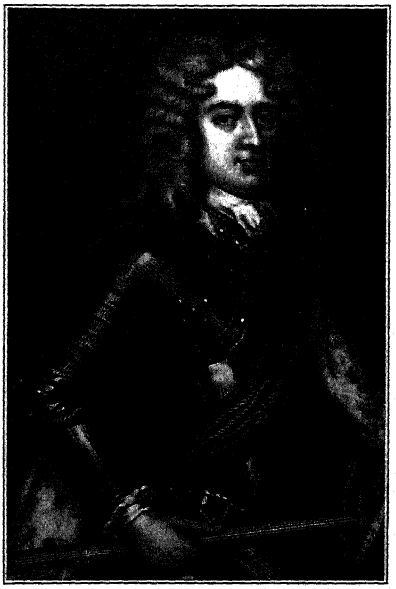
At first the English people were unwilling to interfere, for they were tired of war, and in 1698 had turned out the warlike Whigs and placed the Tories in power. But the continued arrogance of Louis changed their temper. With blind infatuation the French king touched the sensitive spot in the English nature. He issued decrees plainly designed to curtail England's trade in Spanish-American waters; and in September, 1701, at the death-bed of the exiled James II, he recognized the latter's son as the rightful heir to the English throne,[2] thus violating the terms of the treaty of Ryswick. In an instant the English people were filled with a desire to punish the autocrat of France.

298. Marlborough's Victories.—Louis's insult to England had accomplished more than had all William's diplomacy. Supported by an enraged people, William organized the Grand Alliance of European States, and war began, with nearly all the powers ranged against France. From the beginning, however, it was England's war; for she furnished the greatest general, Marlborough, and from it she was to win the greatest glory.

[1] Figgis, Part II, pp. 119–122.

[2] Figgis, Part II, pp. 123-124.

War was formally declared in May, 1701, and, though William died in 1702, the struggle continued altogether for twelve years. It was fought out in Italy, Bavaria, Spain, the Netherlands, America (as Queen Anne's war), and on the sea. Marlborough began his campaign in Flanders, while his chief ally, Eugene of Savoy, fought in upper Italy, and the English navy watched for opportunities in the West Indies and the Mediterranean. At first little was accomplished on either side. Then Louis XIV sent his army to coöperate with the Bavarians in an attack on Vienna. Marlborough, to ward off the attack, hurried by forced marches from the Dutch frontier, and having been joined by Eugene in Bavaria, faced the French and Bavarians at Blenheim, in 1704. There he won a famous victory, which saved the empire from invasion.[1] In the same year Sir George Rooke captured Gibraltar[2] and held it against every attempt of the French to recover it. The capture of Gibraltar and the occupation of Barcelona the next year by the earl of Peterborough showed the superiority of the English fleet.[3] In 1706 Marlborough won the great battle of Ramillies,[4] which



DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.
From the original in the possession of the duke of Marlborough.

[1] Colby, No. 86; Kendall, No. 115; Figgis, Part II, pp. 136-139.
[2] Figgis, Part II, pp. 196-197.
[3] Figgis, Part II, pp. 153-159.
[4] Figgis, Part II, pp. 160-161.

saved the Spanish Netherlands, just as the victory of Blenheim had saved Vienna.

In 1706 Louis was willing to treat for peace; but the allies rejected his overtures and continued the war. In 1708 they won the battle of Oudenarde in Flanders and captured the powerful fortress of Lille. Only the fortress of Mons lay between Marlborough and Paris, and Louis was almost in despair. Again he sued for peace (1709), and again the allies made the terms humiliating in their harshness. Then the old king turned to the French people and called for one mighty effort. The response was heroic. The last army that France could raise was sent to the front, only to be beaten, honorably beaten after a brave fight, in the bloody battle of Malplaquet (1709).[1] Louis might well seem to be at the end of his resources.

299. Fall of Marlborough and the Whigs: Treaty of Utrecht. — At this juncture a change of party control in England saved France. The English were tired of the war. As long as the question of the Spanish succession threatened to endanger the commerce of England, they were willing to fight; but by 1710 that danger had been averted, and consequently their interest waned. Marlborough, who had gone into the war a Tory, found it expedient to attach himself to the party of the Whigs, who had proved to be his chief allies. By 1708 the ministry had become wholly Whig, greatly to the dissatisfaction of Queen Anne, who was beginning to tire of the influence of the Marlboroughs.[2] In 1710 her opportunity came. The Whigs, by prosecuting Dr. Sacheverell for a Tory sermon,[3] aroused indignation in the country and became exceedingly unpopular. Thereupon the queen dismissed the Whigs, restored the Tories to power, and after depriving the duchess of Marlborough of

[1] Figgis, Part II, pp. 170-172.

[2] Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group XXIII, pp. 217-227; Figgis, Part II, pp. 146-148.

[3] Figgis, Part II, pp. 172-175.

all her offices, showed her entire independence by recalling Marlborough himself from the command (1712).[1]

Marlborough's fall meant the end of the war. The Tories hurried the peace negotiations, and in 1713 the treaty of Utrecht was signed.[2] England rather basely neglected the interests of her allies and gained the greatest advantages from the treaty. Philip V was recognized as king of Spain, and the Indies were confirmed as Spanish possessions. To place barriers in the way of further French aggrandizement, Holland was given control of the fortresses on her frontier, Prussia received territory on the Rhine, and Savoy an extension of land in northwestern Italy. From Spain, England received Minorca and Gibraltar in the Mediterranean; from France, Nova Scotia, all claims to Hudson Bay territory, a portion of St. Kitts, and Newfoundland, though the French in resigning all territorial claims in Newfoundland retained the right to catch fish and to dry them on certain portions of the coast.[3] Spain granted to the South Sea Company the right, known as the *assiento*, or exclusive contract, of importing a certain number of slaves to the Spanish colonies in South America for thirty years, and allowed the company to send one ship annually with English goods to trade at the Spanish fairs in South America. Thus the commercial activity of England was widely extended.[4]

300. Union with Scotland. — While England, by the treaty of Utrecht, was gaining important commercial advantages and extending her empire abroad, she was also consolidating her

[1] Figgis, Part II, pp. 175–182. [2] Figgis, Part II, pp. 183–190.

[3] British dependencies, after Utrecht, were the twelve original colonies on the eastern coast of North America; Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Hudson Bay territory, north of these colonies; and the Bahamas, Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands in the West Indies. In Africa the Royal African Company had a few forts on the gold coast, and in India the East India Company had Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, as commercial, not territorial, centres. At this time chiefly commercial advantages were sought, and the British government attached slight importance to territorial acquisitions. All the colonies were more or less neglected in consequence.

[4] For a more exact statement of these privileges ceded by Spain, see article by Williams, *English Historical Review*, April, 1900, p. 271.

kingdom at home. Cromwell had given representation in the English parliament to both the Scots and the Irish; but the Restoration had separated the three kingdoms, granting each a parliament of its own, though keeping them all under a common king, the king of England. Since that time Scotland and Ireland had been governed by commissioners appointed by the king, and in many ways had been treated as foreign countries. The acts of navigation had forbidden the English colonies to trade with them, except through England, and Scottish merchants and manufacturers had suffered greatly from this restriction of their market. The Darien expedition of 1698, designed to open new markets to the Scots by colonizing the Isthmus of Darien, proved a bad failure,[1] and showed the Scots how impossible it would be for them to build up a trade except by union with England. The English, on their side, were afraid lest, on the death of Queen Anne, Scotland should break away from England entirely and form an independent kingdom. This fear was increased in 1704, when the Scottish parliament, refusing to accept the terms of the Act of Settlement, threatened to select a different successor from the one named by England. Consequently, after a year's deliberation, union was agreed upon.

The famous Act of Union was adopted in 1707. It roused, among the independent Scots,[2] an intense opposition that time only could eradicate, but in the end was to be the making of the Scottish nation and kingdom. By this act[3] the two kingdoms became one state, with one parliament, one debt, one system of taxation, one body of commercial and trading privileges, and one flag, the Union Jack.[4] Only in church and law and justice did differences exist. Scotland retained Presbyterianism as the state religion, and administered law and jus-

[1] Figgis, Part II, pp. 115–118. [2] Figgis, Part II, pp. 164–166.

[3] Adam and Stephens, No, 244; Colby, No. 87; Lee, Nos. 193, 194.

[4] The Union Jack was composed of the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew. The term "Jack" is from Jacques (James), because James I tried to introduce such a flag in 1603.

tice in her own way. Thenceforward England, Wales, and Scotland were known as Great Britain.

301. Position of Ireland. — Ireland remained, as before, a dependency under a Protestant parliament, excluded from the trade advantages possessed by England and Scotland. The Irish were forbidden to raise tobacco, a heavy tax was placed on their wool, and their manufacture of linen was discouraged. For the sake of Scotland and the colonies, Ireland was deliberately prevented from developing her natural resources. Furnished by nature with few sources of wealth, the Irish saw themselves checked at every point by the political and economic jealousy of their wealthy neighbor.

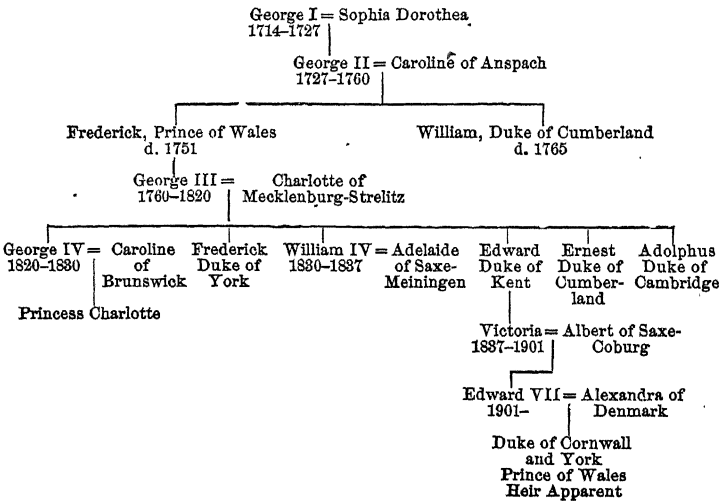
302. The Hanoverian Succession.[1] — The shifting of party politics had brought the Tories into office in 1710, and this position they retained until 1714, under such leaders as St. John (Viscount Bolingbroke), Harley (Earl of Oxford), the duke of Ormond, and others. In that year the sickness of Queen Anne brought up the question of the succession. According to the Act of Settlement, the heir to the throne was the aged Sophia, electress of Hanover; but by her death, in 1714, the title passed to her son George, a phlegmatic and uninteresting German, fifty-four years old. That he had a claim to the British throne at all was in itself an extraordinary fact. He was not the nearest heir, nor was he an elected king. The people had not chosen him, and, had they been asked, would probably have rejected him. The Act of Settlement had been passed by the House of Commons in a moment of intense excitement, the members fearing that Louis XIV would recognize the son of James II as heir to the English throne, as he did, in fact, three months later. The more men thought about the arrangement, the less they liked it, and from 1702 to 1714 it steadily lost favor. Little wonder, therefore, that after the danger from France had been removed, the opposition to a Hanoverian succession began to increase.

[1] Compare Henderson, *Side Lights*, Groups XXIV, XXV, pp. 228–244.

Taking advantage of this situation, the Tory leader, Bolingbroke, a brilliant orator but erratic statesman, began a campaign for the restoration of the Stuarts. But his efforts were checked by the honorable refusal of James III, the Pretender, to change his religion from Roman Catholic to Anglican. This decision divided the Tories, many of whom were unwilling to see a Roman Catholic on the throne. Therefore, when on August 1, 1714, Queen Anne died very unexpectedly, the Whig friends of the Hanoverians were able to declare George king. On September 18 he landed in England, and the reign of the house of Hanover began.

303. Discomfiture of the Tories: Mar's Uprising. — The succession of George I was a victory for the Whigs. In the mind of the new king, the Tories were Jacobites, and with them he would have nothing to do. He selected his first ministers, Townsend, Stanhope, and Walpole, from among the Whigs, not because the Whigs were the stronger party, — they were

HOUSE OF HANOVER.



probably weaker in numbers than the Tories, — but because they were his supporters and could command a majority in the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The Whigs, thus restored to power, impeached Bolingbroke, Oxford, and Ormond.[1] They imprisoned Oxford for two years and passed an act of attainder against Ormond and Bolingbroke, the latter of whom fled to France. These extreme measures, which savored of persecution, led to many Jacobite riots in 1715; and, in order to strengthen the authorities, parliament passed the Riot Act,[2] a measure of which little good can be said, though it is in force to-day.

More serious than the Jacobite riots in England was the Jacobite movement in Scotland, known as Mar's Uprising.[3] A general insurrection in England and Scotland had been planned by Bolingbroke; but unfortunately for the success of the undertaking, the Pretender, headstrong and impatient, ordered the earl of Mar to act in Scotland before the English Jacobites were ready. Mar was defeated at Sheriffmuir (November 13, 1715); his colleague, Forster, was defeated at Preston; and, though James himself went to Scotland to encourage his supporters, the whole movement proved a failure. Mar and the Pretender escaped to France, but eight of their followers were beheaded.

For five years the Jacobites continued their agitation, relying chiefly on foreign aid. After the death of Louis XIV (1715), France refused to help them; but in 1719 Cardinal Alberoni of Spain, in an effort to restore that kingdom to her place among the powers, took up the cause of the Stuarts and invaded Scotland. His expedition was entirely without success.

304. Growing Importance of the Cabinet and the House of Commons. — By 1720 the Whigs were triumphant over their enemies, the Tories were everywhere discredited, and the

[1] These were the last political impeachments in English history.

[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 246. [3] Compare Lee, No. 195.

house of Hanover was firmly established on the throne. But George I was a very different man from William III. He made no attempt to be a personal ruler, and left everything to his ministers. He was not popular, and half the people of England would have been glad to get rid of him. He was German; and, speaking no English, could not talk to either ministers or people. Moreover, he had a greater interest in the affairs of Hanover than in those of Great Britain, and by his ignorance and indifference destroyed what affection or regard his English people might have had for him. He leaned entirely on the Whigs, and refused to have a Tory in his ministry. Consequently, party government in a new sense began to prevail, and the cabinet became the responsible governing body of the kingdom. George appointed his own ministers, but left them to manage affairs more or less as they pleased. Thus the power of the crown steadily declined, and the power of the cabinet steadily increased.

The House of Commons, too, underwent an important change. Under George I it gained in power and importance, until it was of more dignity and consequence than the House of Lords. Three causes may be assigned for this change.

Since the Triennial Act of 1694 a new parliament had to be elected every three years; but in 1716 the Whigs, fearing to lose the election in case parliament were dissolved, passed the Septennial Act, which continued their session and that of succeeding parliaments for seven years.[1] This law, which still prevails, had the undoubted effect of dignifying the House of Commons, though it also increased bribery, because membership for seven years was more valuable than for three.

A second cause was the fact that as government became more expensive, the House of Commons, which controlled the purse, became more and more influential. It was one thing to disburse £2,300,000 in 1699, and quite another to control £10,000,000 in 1743. The national debt had risen to £52,000,000 in 1714,

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 247.

and to £55,000,000 in 1721. Financial questions touching economy and expenditure became leading issues in the eighteenth century; and the House of Commons was the storm-centre of debate.

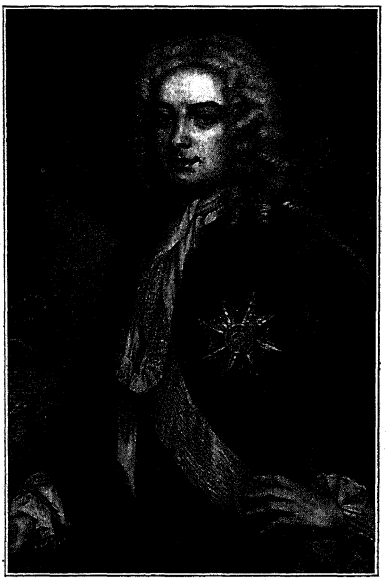
Finally, the policy of Walpole, the greatest Whig minister of this time, had much to do with making the House of Commons more powerful than the House of Lords. During his entire ministry of twenty-one years, Walpole remained a commoner, and his seat of activity was the House of Commons.

305. Ministry of Walpole (1721–1742).—Under Townshend, the Whig ministry had not been successful, and in 1717 Townshend was dismissed, Walpole resigned, and Sunderland and Stanhope became the leading ministers. Though Stanhope successfully carried through the war of 1719–1720 with Spain, he fell because of the financial excitement aroused by the South Sea Bubble.[1] This enterprise was a huge speculation in the shares of the South Sea Company, which was organized to trade in South America and to take advantage of Spain's concessions in the treaty of Utrecht. The ministry got into trouble in the matter by allowing the company to take over the national debt, —which had hitherto been managed by the Bank of England, —on the condition that it would pay the debt out of the profits of its trade. But a frightful panic followed the wild scheme, and the Stanhope-Sunderland ministry was carried down in the crash. In 1721 Walpole and Townshend became the leaders of a new cabinet.

Walpole's long ministry forms an epoch by itself in English history. It was a period of peace, economy, and financial reform. It was not a time of progress in politics or legislation, for Walpole had little interest in the constitution as such. Nor was it a period made important by treaties or by diplomacy and foreign affairs; for in the main Europe was at peace. But it was a time marked by great progress in the wealth and comfort of the English people.

[1] Colby, No. 88; Mahon, *History of England*, Vol. II, pp. 3–13.

Walpole, who must be classed as a financier rather than a statesman, lived in an age of bribery and corruption, an age characterized chiefly by coarseness in manners and stagnation in religion, morals, and intellectual life. His own motto, "Let sleeping dogs lie," was characteristic of his age. He took good care to arouse no class of the people to passion or rage, by any attempts to change the political or religious conditions of the kingdom. Such a policy tended to make men and women indifferent and callous, because it did not arouse in them any interest in social or religious reform. Drunkenness, lawlessness, inhumanity, widely prevailed. Society lived for pleasure and personal gain. On the other hand, such a policy of neglect was in many ways most beneficial to the country at large. Trade and commerce increased; new towns in the north and west grew in size and wealth; and an interest in better agricultural methods, in landscape gardening and roads, was awakened. The indifference and lethargy could not be permanent, whereas the gains in wealth and resource were to stand Great Britain in good stead in the exciting years that were to follow.



ROBERT WALPOLE.
From the original of C. Jervas in the collection of Thomas Walpole, Esq.

Walpole had three general purposes: first, to unite the landowning and moneyed classes in support of the house of Hanover, and so make secure the throne of the Georges, whom

he served; second, to develop trade and industrial activity at home, by reducing taxation and cutting down the national debt; and third, to strengthen the navy and to encourage commerce with the colonies abroad, on the principle that the greater the prosperity of the colonies, the greater would be their demand for English goods.[1]

He began his work by restoring confidence in the nation's credit, which had suffered in the financial panic caused by the South Sea scheme. Then he inaugurated a great and far-reaching reform of the whole tariff system, partly to check smuggling and adulteration, and partly to encourage manufacturing at home and to relieve the poor. In 1721 he removed export duties from one hundred and six articles of British manufacture, and import duties from thirty-eight articles of raw material; and he further reduced the duties on many of the necessaries of life. His colonial policy was even more noteworthy. The mercantile classes, who still looked on the colonies as sources of supply for the mother country, wished to prevent the colonists from trading anywhere except in England, and from manufacturing anything that was likely to compete with the manufactures of England. Instead of enforcing rigorously the navigation acts, on which this policy depended, Walpole was rather inclined to neglect them and to allow the colonies to do as they pleased; instead of encouraging the passage of additional acts restricting colonial trade, he objected to the whole system whereby England monopolized that trade, and tried in one or two cases to overthrow the monopoly. In 1730 he allowed Carolina, and in 1735 Georgia, to send their rice to any European port south of Cape Finisterre, and in 1740 he allowed the traders of the West Indies to do the same with their sugar; provided, in both cases, the commodities were carried in ships that were built by British shipbuilders and manned by British sailors. He continued the bounty on colonial naval stores and removed the duty on colonial timber;

[1] Kendall, No. 116.

but he did not prevent parliament in 1732 from forbidding the colonies to manufacture hats. His colonial policy opened new markets for colonial products, and the American colonies, made thirteen by the settlement of Georgia in 1732, entered on a period of unprecedented growth and prosperity.

While favoring the merchants and the colonists, Walpole desired to aid the landed gentry also. He considered the land



THE OLD TABARD INN YARD IN SOUTHWARK.
Used before 1866 as a railway and shipping office.

tax ruinous and unfairly levied, and by 1731 had succeeded in reducing it from four shillings to one shilling on the pound. In order to keep the tax at that low rate, and at the same time to make up the loss in revenue, he was obliged to adopt new methods of taxation. Therefore, in 1733, he introduced his Excise Bill, one of the most remarkable of his measures, and one followed by stirring events. He proposed to change certain customs duties into excise duties, by allowing importers

to store their commodities — such as tobacco and other imported goods — in warehouses at the docks without paying duty, and by obliging them to pay an internal tax only on those portions of their goods that they took from the warehouses and sold within the country. Thus, instead of paying a customs duty on a commodity like tobacco, the merchants were to pay an internal revenue duty on the amount consumed and to have the privilege of reëxporting what remained. A similar plan had already been tried in the case of silks, pepper, tea, and coffee. The Excise Bill was wholly admirable from a financial point of view, because it would have checked smuggling, made the collecting of duties easier and simpler, would have been a step in the direction of free trade, and would have lightened the burden of the land tax. But it bore the hated name of "excise," and fears were at once aroused lest customs duties were to be changed into internal revenue duties, and lest government officials in greater numbers than before were to be let loose upon England. A fury of opposition was raised within the country, and public opinion was everywhere against the bill. Walpole bent before the storm. Though a majority in parliament could have been obtained for the measure, he decided to push it no further. For almost the first time in English history, public opinion won a victory over a parliamentary majority.

Walpole was chiefly influential in matters of trade and finance, but indirectly he contributed to the shaping of the constitution, not by passing laws, but by the practical work of conducting the government. He organized his followers in the House of Commons and gave shape to party government; he transformed the old group of ministers into a working cabinet and made himself the supreme ministerial head of the government;[1] he raised the House of Commons to a position more important than the House of Lords.

[1] After Townshend resigned in 1730, Walpole was in reality prime minister, though the term was unknown to the constitution and was repudiated by Walpole himself. It did not come into use till the next decade.

306. Opposition to Walpole: War with Spain (1739).—Against a position as strong as that held by Walpole the Tory opposition hurled itself in vain. Bolingbroke, returning to England, became the leader of the Tories, and with the help of Pulteney and a group of Whigs whom Walpole had affronted by his domineering methods, did all that he could to overthrow the ministry.[1] George I died, and George II succeeded to the throne (1727); but Walpole continued in office, mainly because he was supported by Queen Caroline, who ruled her husband. The failure of the Excise Bill did not weaken the position of Walpole, and it was left for a foreign question, though one intimately connected with the growth of England's commerce, to overthrow him.

After the resignation of Townshend, in 1730, Walpole assumed control of foreign affairs. He continued the alliance with France, which Cardinal Fleury, the French minister, was equally anxious to maintain; and he positively refused to be drawn into wars abroad. But the war of the Polish Succession (1733–1735) led to a change in Fleury's policy. The French and Spanish Bourbons secretly formed the first "family compact," as it was called, in accordance with which Spain promised to transfer to France the commercial privileges in America that had been granted to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, if in return France would help to wrest Gibraltar away from the English. These commercial privileges had become very important to British merchants and had led to a gradual and illegal extension of British trade in South American ports. The "one ship a year" allowed by the treaty had become a small flotilla, and smuggling was carried on unblushingly.

The exasperated Spanish officials, resenting this abuse, attempted to retaliate. Tales of horrible atrocities, of Englishmen confined in Spanish dungeons and driven to labor in Spanish chain-gangs, were brought back to England and were

[1] Colby, No. 90.

artfully worked up by Bolingbroke and his Tory colleagues. One Captain Jenkins appeared before the bar of the House and told how his ear had been torn off by a brutal Spanish captain.[1] England could endure no more; and burning with indignation,—hardly righteous, since Spain had a just grievance,—demanded redress. Contrary to Walpole's wishes and efforts, war was declared in 1739. The "War of Jenkins's Ear," as it was called, ended in a failure, which was charged against Walpole. The opposition, taking advantage of Walpole's unpopularity, made every effort to overthrow him. Walpole's majority in parliament grew steadily smaller, until in 1741, in connection with a disputed election return, it amounted to but one vote. Therefore, in February, 1742, Walpole resigned and his great ministry came to an end.

307. Importance of Walpole's Ministry.—But Walpole had done his work. The Hanoverian dynasty was firmly established. Great Britain was commercially prosperous, and consequently contented. A new generation of men had grown up since the days of William III and Queen Anne, and the questions of the earlier period no longer troubled the nation. Men no longer worried about the Act of Settlement; the mass of the people wanted stable government, and with this guaranteed, cared little whether the king was a George or a James, a Hanoverian or a Stuart. The new importance of parliament made the doctrine of divine right of little moment, and very few were prepared to risk their lives and their property for the sake of one whose claims to the throne rested on birth only. Trade, financial security, and personal comfort were now of greater importance to the majority of Englishmen than were the quarrels of Continental dynasties or the demands of a Jacobite pretender.

308. War of the Austrian Succession.—Nothing shows better Great Britain's indifference to Continental affairs than

[1] For letters illustrating these outrages and proving the truth of Jenkins's story, see *English Historical Review*, 1889, p. 741 ff.

the attitude assumed by the British government in the war of the Austrian Succession. The archduke of Austria, Charles VI, who was also the emperor, had only a daughter, Maria Theresa. Fearing that her succession to the Austrian throne would be disputed after his death, he drew up the Pragmatic Sanction, a document designed to secure this succession, and presented it to the European states for acceptance. A majority of the governments signed the document, Great Britain among the number. But no sooner had Charles VI died, in 1740, than Frederick II of Prussia seized Silesia; and France, supporting the claims of the elector of Bavaria to the Austrian throne, prepared for war. King George, as elector of Hanover, was intimately concerned with German affairs.[1] He and his minister, Lord Carteret, Walpole's successor, made an alliance with Maria Theresa, and hired an army of Hanoverians and Hessians to fight against France. Under the command of the king in person, this army won the battle of Dettingen, on the Main, June 27, 1743, and drove the French army across the Rhine. But the British parliament, saying that the Germans could settle their quarrels among themselves, gave Carteret no support, and he was obliged to resign in 1744. The duke of Newcastle and his brother, Henry Pelham, came into office, but on account of the hostile attitude of France, were compelled to continue the war. Having lost the battle of Fontenoy, May 1, 1745, they gave up the struggle, and devoted themselves to the attainment of peace. In 1748, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed, which restored to each contestant all that had been lost during the war. During the struggle, England's chief interests had been in the navy, which had won two victories over the French fleet, and in the American colonists, who had captured Louisburg in 1745.

[1] On the importance of Hanover in shaping the Continental policy of Great Britain during the reigns of George I and George II, see a work of great interest and importance by Ward, *Great Britain and Hanover* (1899). It is especially valuable for the diplomacy of the wars of this period.

309. The Young Pretender: Uprising of 1745. — Taking advantage of the war, the Jacobites made another and last attempt to obtain possession of the English throne. In 1744, Louis XV had promised to invade England, in behalf of the Stuarts; but, after the victory of Fontenoy, he had abandoned the project, on the ground that Flanders was a better point of attack. The Young Pretender, Charles Edward, son of the Old Pretender, James, therefore determined to make the attempt on his own account, and to test once more the loyalty of the Highlanders. Setting out with a few followers, in a single vessel, he landed at Moidart in western Scotland. After gaining control of Scotland by winning the battle of Prestonpans,[1] on July 25, 1745, he crossed the frontier and advanced into England.

His march to Derby aroused great apprehension in London, but his efforts were without success. Had a Stuart invaded England thirty years before, he might have involved the kingdom in a civil war; but the prosperity of the country under the management of Walpole, and the decrease in the number of Stuart sympathizers, made success impossible. The English Jacobites failed to support the prince; the people counted on to flock in crowds to his standard came only in small numbers; and, finally, Charles Edward was forced to retreat. Marching despondently back to Scotland, he was defeated at Culloden by a largely superior army under the duke of Cumberland on April 16, 1746. After many romantic adventures, he made his way to France, where he ended, in 1788, his inglorious career.

310. An Era of New Interests. — England's half-hearted interest in the war of the Austrian Succession and her repudiation of the Stuarts were indicative of a new era that had been ushered in by the peace policy of Walpole. Questions larger than the Pragmatic Sanction or the claims of a pretender were arousing the British people to a new activity

[1] Lee, Nos. 196–200; Colby, No. 92.

in the worlds beyond the seas, where lay the frontier posts of British empire. At the same time, at home a religious revival was already stirring the people to the depths, and was awakening a new spirit in the English democracy. The indifference and scepticism of the preceding half-century were to give way to an unprecedented outburst of military enthusiasm and religious fervor.

311. The English in India and America. — France and England were already rivals for the great regions in the east and the west, in India and in America. But France had been the first in the field and had won control of the largest amount of territory. Before the time of Colbert, the great minister of Louis XIV, the French had made expeditions to the East; but the real beginnings of their influence in India dated from the founding of the French East India Company in 1665 and the establishment of trading factories at Surat. Their efforts were not, however, very successful; and it was not until Labourdonnais became governor of Mauritius and Dupleix became governor of Pondicherry (1742) that the political influence and prestige of the French was established. The English had established themselves at Madras in 1639, at Bombay in 1661,[1] and at Calcutta in 1698; but during the war of the Austrian Succession the French under Dupleix had won a number of victories and had become the real masters of the region in southeastern India known as the Carnatic. It was a bitter moment for Dupleix when the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle compelled him to return to England what he had so bravely won.

While the French and British were fighting for the leadership in India, they were also fighting for supremacy in America. In 1749 the Ohio Company had been formed for the purpose of founding a colony in the Ohio valley, already guarded by a French fort. For a century there had been occasional conflicts between the French and English along the northern frontiers; but the struggle for the first time became serious in the Ohio

[1] For the English at Surat and Bombay, see Lee, No. 229.

valley. The French, step by step, had advanced their outposts and were hemming in the English colonists on the seaboard. In 1754 a Virginian colonel, George Washington, at the head of a small colonial army, attacked a body of French troops near Fort Duquesne; but the English colonists did not support him, and he was obliged to withdraw. The British claimed that the French had not a shadow of right to the Ohio valley; while Duquesne, governor of Canada, sent word to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania that he would permit no settlements other than French in that region. The French under Duquesne, and afterward under Montcalm, were able to act quickly and effectively; but the English colonies, lacking common interest and a common army, moved slowly, while the home government, with Newcastle at its head and a body of insubordinate colleagues to thwart him, was inefficient and weak. The feeling in England was one of despondency, for Englishmen believed that the government was incompetent to meet the great dangers that were confronting them. The French seemed to be on the point of driving the English out of India; and when in America the British expedition organized under General Braddock suffered an overwhelming defeat in 1755, it began to look as if the French would remain masters of the Ohio valley, and would successfully connect their Canadian possessions with those on the Gulf of Mexico.

312. A Revolution in Continental Alliances. — Although war between France and England had not been formally declared, yet war between the French and English had already begun, both in the Ohio valley and in India. On the ocean, too, during the year 1755, a running war was carried on between the British fleet and French merchantmen, and some three hundred French vessels and over seven thousand French sailors were captured and brought into British ports. Therefore France and Great Britain, knowing that a conflict could not be avoided, began to look about for Continental allies.

For forty years Great Britain had been on friendly terms with Austria, chiefly because the Georges, as electors of Han-

over, were jealous of the house of Brandenburg (Prussia), the old-time rival of Hanover in Germany. Walpole had never favored this policy, because he believed that it was injurious to Great Britain's commercial development and sacrificed the interests of the British people to those of the house of Hanover. He had frequently urged an alliance with Prussia. After the conclusion of the war of the Austrian Succession, Great Britain and Austria drifted apart, each dissatisfied with the other.[1] On January 15, 1756, England and Prussia signed a treaty of alliance at Westminster.

Following this alliance, Austria and France, after long negotiations, drew together, and in the treaty of Versailles, May 1, 1756, formed an alliance against Prussia and Great Britain. These two treaties effected a complete reversal of the traditional British and French policies, a change due, in the first place, to the sudden rise of Prussia under Frederick the Great, and in the second place, to the steady growth in commercial importance of the British nation.

313. Outbreak of the Seven Years' War: British Disasters. —Frederick, subsidized by Great Britain, began the attack. Though victorious over Austria at Prague, May, 1757, he was defeated at Kollin by the Austrians; and his general, Lehwald, was beaten by the Russians at Grossjägersdorf in August. But with great courage he turned against the French, and on November 5, 1757, won a famous victory at Rossbach near Leipzig. This victory showed that Frederick II, the king of a young and rising kingdom, was also the head of a powerful army and one of the greatest generals in Europe.

England's share in the war was without glory. The duke of Cumberland was disgracefully defeated at Hastenbeck in Hanover, and forced to sign the treaty of Closter-Leven, leaving Hanover in the hands of the French. An expedition sent by sea against Rochefort on the French coast ended in failure;

[1] Hassall, *The Balance of Power, 1715–1789* (Periods Series), pp. 215–217, 234–235; Williams, in *English Historical Review*, April, 1900, p. 267; Ward, *Hanover and Great Britain.*

and an expedition under Admiral Byng, sent to recover Minorca, which had been captured by the French in 1756, withdrew without firing a shot. In America, Lord Loudoun, attempting to take Louisburg, which had been returned to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, proved utterly incompetent and accomplished nothing. Men began to see that the trouble lay, not with the troops, but with the commanders; that favoritism and rank had been the causes of promotion, and that military experience had been but little considered when generals were to be selected.

314. William Pitt. — The year 1757 was one of discouragement to the British government, for scarcely one campaign had resulted successfully. Popular indignation was aroused against the Newcastle administration, and so violent was the temper of the country that Newcastle deemed it best to resign (November, 1757). A wave of popular feeling carried William Pitt into the ministry, as the first secretary of state and the actual prime minister. "The eyes of an afflicted, despairing nation," says a contemporary, "saw in this private gentleman, without birth and without fortune, the only saviour of England." Pitt, who was connected with none of the great Whig families of his day, became the leading minister, in spite of king, lords, and commons, because he was the only minister of his day in whom the people had absolute confidence.



WILLIAM PITT, THE ELDER.
From a painting by R. Brompton.

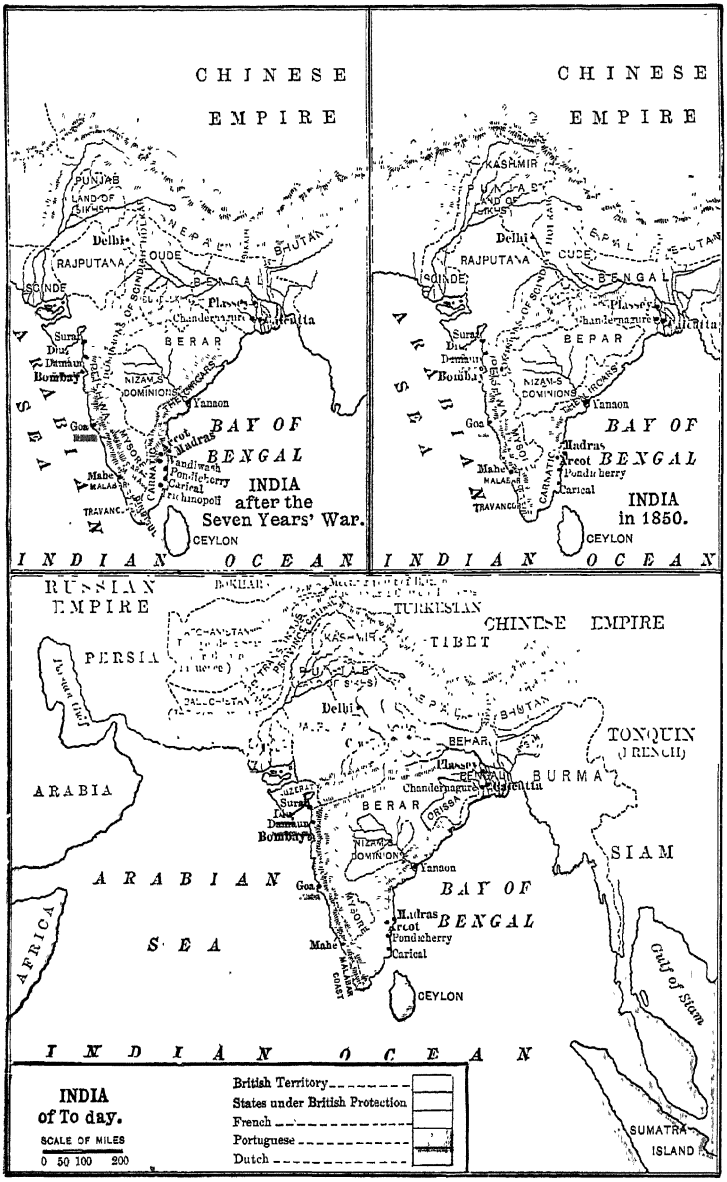
Pitt's strength lay in his enthusiasm and incorruptibility. He was arrogant, affected, and deplorably unpractical and careless; but he was filled with patriotic fervor strikingly unlike the indifference, distrust, and helplessness of those who

had preceded him. In an age of corruption, selfishness, and dilettante statesmanship, he was remarkable for his ability and honesty. He was free from class prejudice and unusually keen in his judgment of men — a true leader, in whom the middle class, the moneyed class of the nation, could have confidence. He taught the people to be hopeful, brave, and self-reliant, and to subordinate their individual interests to the interests of the country at large. In short, he was almost the only statesman of the century, except Walpole, who had a disinterested regard for England's future.

315. Two Years of Victory. — Pitt's influence was felt immediately. A new treaty was made with Prussia, whereby a subsidy of £670,000 was to be paid to Prussia annually, for the purpose, as Pitt said, of winning America in Germany, by aiding Prussia to defeat France on the Continent. The duke of Cumberland as commander-in-chief was replaced by Ferdinand of Brunswick, who proved his ability, in August, 1759, by winning the victory of Minden, on the Weser, thereby driving the French out of Hesse and eventually forcing them back over the Rhine.

Events of even greater importance were taking place in India and America. In 1743 Robert Clive, a young Englishman, had been sent to Madras, where for three years his chief work had been the casting up of accounts. But in 1751 a war between native princes, involving both French and English in India, gave Clive his opportunity. At Arcot and Trichinopoli, in the Carnatic, he won victories over Dupleix, who in 1752 was recalled to France in disgrace. In 1754, during an absence of Clive in England, a native prince of the north seized Calcutta and thrust the captives into the garrison room of a factory there, — famous thenceforth as the Black Hole of Calcutta, — causing the death of a hundred and twenty-five men and women. Clive, returning in 1756, took a speedy vengeance on the despot, and in the battle of Plassey,[1] June, 1757,

[1] Colby, No. 94; Kendall, No. 117.


CHINESE EMPIRE
PUNJAB
LAND OF SIKHS
NEPAUL
Delhi
RAJPUTANA
OUDE
BHUTAN
SINDE
BENGAL
Plassey
Chandernagore
Calcutta
BERAR
Surat
Diu
Damaun
Bombay
NIZAM'S DOMINIONS
THE CIRCARS
Yanaon
ARABIAN SEA
Goa
BAY OF BENGAL
Madras
Arcot
Pondicherry
Carical
Mahe
MALABAR COAST
TRAVANCORE
CEYLON
INDIAN OCEAN
INDIA after the Seven Years' War.
CHINESE EMPIRE
KASHMIR
LAND OF SIKHS
Delhi
RAJPUTANA
OUDE
BHUTAN
SINDE
BENGAL
Plassey
Chandernagore
Calcutta
BERAR
Surat
Diu
Damaun
Bombay
NIZAM'S DOMINIONS
Yanaon
ARABIAN SEA
Goa
BAY OF BENGAL
Madras
Arcot
Pondicherry
Carical
Mahe
MALABAR COAST
CARNATIC
TRAVANCORE
CEYLON
INDIAN OCEAN
INDIA in 1850.
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
BOKHARA
TURKESTAN
CHINESE EMPIRE
PERSIA
Persian Gulf
TIBET
KASHMIR
Delhi
BEHAR
TONQUIN (FRENCH)
BURMA
ARABIA
Plassey
Chandernagore
Calcutta
BERAR
ORISSA
Surat
Diu
Damaun
Bombay
NIZAM'S DOMINIONS
SIAM
Yanaon
ARABIAN SEA
Goa
BAY OF BENGAL
Madras
Arcot
Pondicherry
Carical
Mahe
MALABAR COAST
AFRICA
CEYLON
Gulf of Siam
INDIAN OCEAN
SUMATRA ISLAND
INDIA of To day.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
British Territory
States under British Protection
French
Portuguese
Dutch

defeated fifty thousand untrained native troops, and won for the British the protectorate of Bengal. This famous event gave to the East India Company the control of northeastern India. Lally, who was sent out by France to succeed Dupleix, failed in all his attempts to restore the supremacy of the French; and finally, in December, 1759, the battle of Wandewash practically ended the struggle in favor of Great Britain. In the Carnatic, one fortress after another fell into British hands, and at last, in January, 1761, Pondicherry was forced to surrender, and the power of the French in India was permanently broken. The responsibility for the loss of India rests, not with Labourdonnais, Dupleix, or Lally, but with the scandalously inefficient government of Louis XV. How France treated her generals may be inferred from the fact that Labourdonnais was thrown into the Bastile, Dupleix died ruined and broken-hearted, and Lally was condemned to death.

In America also success attended British arms. The campaign of 1755 had ended in the defeat and death of Braddock; of three expeditions against Canada, only one, that against New Brunswick, had succeeded, and even that success had been marred by the banishment of the inoffensive and innocent Acadians from Nova Scotia. In 1758, however, a change took place. Pitt thoroughly equipped three expeditions and placed them under the command of efficient men. Amherst, who was sent against Louisburg, captured the fortress, July 26, 1758, and obtained control of the island of Breton. Forbes took Fort Duquesne on November 25 of the same year. And finally, Wolfe, pushing westward from Louisburg, scaled the heights of the Plains of Abraham, before Quebec, and on September 13, 1759,[1] won a great victory over the French commander, Montcalm. The surrender of Quebec followed five days later, and all Canada fell into the hands of the English. Only New Orleans remained to the French in America.

[1] Colby, No. 95; Kendall, No. 118.

Thus the policy of Pitt, expensive though it was, received its full vindication.[1] Vast sums of money had been spent in equipping armies, in supporting the colonies, and in subsidizing Frederick II; yet Great Britain, in the period of commercial prosperity that followed, received back ten times as much as she had spent.

316. Accession and Policy of George III. — While these exciting events were taking place, George II died, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. The new king was a young man of twenty-two, who was strongly English in sympathies and was thoroughly imbued with a determination to rule as well as reign. He was resolved that he would not be held a prisoner, as his predecessors had been, by the autocratic Whig families who had controlled the government since 1688, but would break down the system of cabinet and party government that seemed to be limiting the freedom of the king. He proposed to restore the royal prerogative, to be his own first minister, to choose his other ministers himself, and to be the guide of his own policy. He had read Bolingbroke's *The Patriot King*, advocating such a kingship, and had seen the manuscript of Blackstone's *Commentaries*, which set forth the legal right of the king to rule. But he had no intention of restoring the monarchy of the Stuarts, nor did he wish to govern without parliament. It was his intention to govern with the aid of a party of his own in parliament, one that should be bound to him by flattery, bribery, and sentiments of loyalty. He saw no reason why he should not buy the support of a party in parliament, just as Walpole, Pelham, and Newcastle had done; or why he should not have his party, known as the "king's friends," just as each of these ministers had controlled a party, known as the "minister's friends." In consequence of his efforts to create such a party, there arose the new Tories, no longer Jacobites, but Hanoverians,

[1] Lecky, *History of England*, Vol. II, pp. 555–565; compare Colby, No. 96.

who upheld the king in his purpose of restoring once more the royal influence..

317. Fall of Pitt. — The first business of George III was to get rid of the man whose overshadowing influence was distinctly an obstacle in his path. In this attempt fortune favored him; for in the year 1761 such differences of opinion had arisen regarding the conduct of the war as to lead to a split in the ministry. Pitt, desiring to gain new colonial territory for England, wished to declare war against Spain, the ally of France. But Newcastle refused to support such a policy, and on October 5, 1761, Pitt resigned. His place was taken by Lord Bute, royal adviser and friend, a man as much hated in England as Pitt was beloved. Newcastle remained in the ministry. Though nominally the head of the government, he was treated with so much contempt and so little courtesy by the king that he resigned in May, 1762. Bute then became the nominal as well as the real head of the ministry.

318. The Peace of Paris.[1] — Notwithstanding all his efforts to the contrary, Bute was compelled to declare war against Spain in 1762; and a brilliant naval campaign, for which Pitt had made all the preparations, was carried on. Cuba and other islands in the West Indies were taken, Manila in the Philippine Islands was occupied; and large amounts of Spanish treasure fell into British hands. Bute knew that he was hopelessly incompetent to conduct such a war, and in the face of these victories began to negotiate for peace. He refused longer to pay subsidies to Frederick II, whom Pitt had aided in order to fight France on the Continent as well as at sea, and he seemed ready to give up anything if only a peace could be arranged. Finally, on February 10, 1763, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris. The terms of this treaty, which were justly deemed inadequate by the British people, revealed, with startling distinctness, the expansion that had taken place, since the treaty of Utrecht, in British interests and British territory in

[1] *American History Leaflets*, No. 5; MacDonald, No. 54.

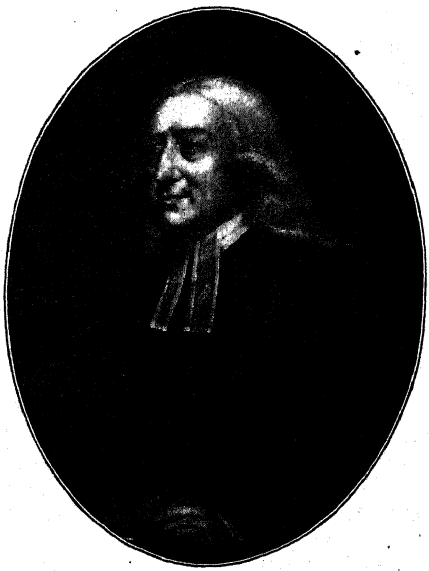
the world beyond the seas. Great Britain came into full control in America: she received Canada, the islands of the St. Lawrence, a confirmation of her right in Nova Scotia (Acadia), the valley of the Mississippi, except New Orleans, and Florida in exchange for Cuba, which she gave back to Spain. Manila, in the Philippines, was also returned to Spain. Of the islands in the West Indies, she returned Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucia to France, and retained Tobago, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Grenada. No less complete was the success in India. Though Pondicherry was restored to France, the French were to have no military control in the peninsula and were to confine their interests to a few trading stations.

The treaty of Paris, which marks the highest point of colonial power attained by Great Britain in the eighteenth century, made her the leading maritime state in the world. It roused a great deal of opposition in England, where it was deemed an insufficient compensation for Great Britain's many and brilliant victories, and greatly increased the unpopularity of Bute. But the popular verdict was not wholly just, for Great Britain gained much from the treaty and her colonial leadership was assured; moreover, the difficulties connected with the task of administering the colonies made rapid expansion dangerous; and the enormous cost of the war and the ominous increase of the national debt made peace exceedingly desirable.

319. Awakening of the People: The Religious Revival.— Equally significant with the growth of Great Britain's colonial empire was the growth of public opinion during these years, and the gradual advance of the capitalist and working classes to a position of political importance in the kingdom. Commerce and trade had given merchants and other moneyed men a new interest in political life, and their wealth had made them already a power in the state. The middle classes, whether represented or not in parliament, were listened to more attentively than ever before by those who controlled the govern-

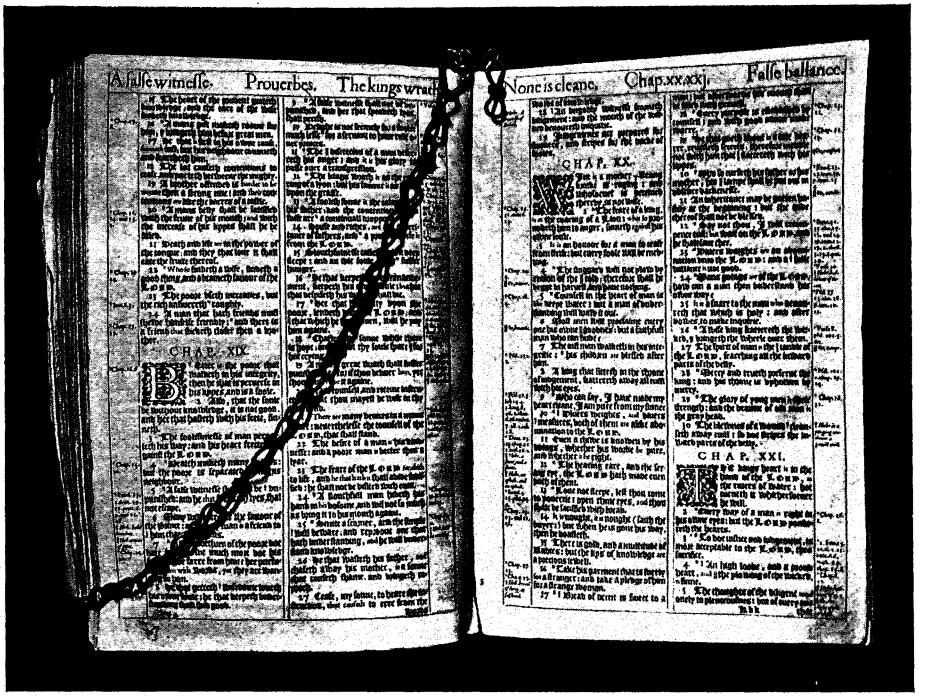
ment. But the lower classes, who were without representation in any modern sense of the term, had hardly yet begun their political career. A great emotional force had, however, been at work among them, giving them, to an extent never understood before, a sense of unity and self-importance.

A great religious revival, which had begun in Walpole's time (1730–1740), had aroused the dull and sodden masses from the hopeless lethargy into which they had fallen, and had served as a rebuke to the indifference and intolerance of the clergy of the church of England. Though starting as a small movement among a few students at Oxford, of whom John Wesley, a wonderful preacher and organizer, his brother, Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield were the leaders, it soon spread to the laboring classes, — artisans, peasants, and miners. Whitefield preached with tremendous power to crowds in the open air, appealing to their sense of sin, to their fear of the dangers that threatened their souls, and to the hope of the salvation that would follow the godly life. John Wesley preached as did Whitefield[1]; but, endowed as he was with a greater gift for organization, he gathered his followers into bands and societies, and gave form to that



JOHN WESLEY.
From an old engraving.

[1] Colby, No. 91.



A Chained Bible on the Reading Desk of a Parish Church.

ecclesiastical system eventually known as Methodism. Though Wesley refused to separate either himself or his organization from the church of England, his followers, after his death, in 1791, broke away from the established church, and became a distinct religious body, the Methodists.

Important as is the Wesleyan movement in the history of religious faith, in that it quickened the religious life of the other ecclesiastical bodies, yet of even greater importance, at the time, was its influence in stirring the lower classes to a new social and political activity. It aroused the laborer to a new realization of his own individuality, and made him a part of a powerful organization. It marks a turning point, therefore, in the history of English democracy.

320. Public Opinion and the House of Commons: John Wilkes. — Public opinion was still in its infancy, but it had already played a part in English history. It had compelled Walpole to withdraw his excise measure, had forced him into the War of Jenkins's Ear, had demanded the execution of Admiral Byng, had placed Pitt in the ministry, and, finally, had denounced the treaty of Paris. The men who were taking part in the great work of winning the empire were feeling that they ought to have some share in governing what they had won, and were becoming discontented with the narrow, selfish, and corrupt methods of the House of Commons. This body was largely composed of men who had bought their seats, who sold their votes to the highest bidder, and who were constantly abusing the privileges their predecessors had gained in the days of Elizabeth and the Stuarts. They refused to allow their debates to be printed, and, with an exaggerated sense of their own importance, had become oversensitive to criticism, and only too ready to punish any one who affronted their dignity. As the king governed through parliament, and was able at this time to instigate its policy, the policy of the one was in large part the policy of the other.

On April 8, 1763, Lord Bute resigned, and Grenville took his place as secretary of state. Grenville's first act was to

prosecute John Wilkes for attacking the king's speech made at the prorogation of parliament, on April 23, 1763. Wilkes had published his article[1] in the *North Briton*, a paper he had founded for the express purpose of attacking Bute and now used as a means of attacking Grenville. The government determined to crush Wilkes, and caused a general warrant to be issued, — that is, a warrant directed against no one in particular, — for the arrest of author, printers, and publishers of the *North Briton*. Wilkes became at once a popular hero, and when Lord Chief Justice Pratt (Lord Camden), held that the warrant was illegal,[2] there was great rejoicing. Then the House of Commons took the matter in hand and expelled Wilkes,[3] — a despotic act, which was followed by popular demonstrations that amounted almost to riots. Personally, Wilkes was not a specially estimable man, for he was loose in morals and an adventurer in politics; but in the eyes of the people his persecution by parliament was an attack on the liberty of the subject and the freedom of the press, and the expressions of popular disapproval showed how little sympathy existed, on the part of the people, for the men who were supposed to represent them.

For five years Wilkes continued to suffer at the hands of the government, and popular discontent increased. The parliament of 1768 was composed of men notoriously bribed.[4] This shameless purchase of a whole body of representatives led to a famous protest. The county of Middlesex elected Wilkes as its representative by a large majority (1768). The House of Commons refused to allow him to take his seat. Again Middlesex returned him (February, 1769). Twice (March and April, 1769) was this repeated, amid an excitement that stirred southern England to its depths. Meetings were held in cities and counties, expressing want of confidence in parliament, and

[1] Colby, No. 97 (extract); Lee, No. 201 (complete).
[2] Adams and Stephens, Nos. 251, 252.
[3] See debate, Kendall, No. 104.
[4] Kendall, No. 105.

opposition to the coercive policy of the government. In 1769, "Junius" published his scathing indictment of the administration, and his "letters" had great popularity. In the end, public opinion won the victory, and in the next general election, 1774, when Wilkes was for the fifth time elected, he was allowed to take his seat. In 1782, parliament erased from its journal the resolution passed against him.[1]

321. British Policy toward the American Colonies (1760–1774). — While the Grenville ministry was making one mistake in coercing public opinion at home, it was making another in attempting to coerce the colonies in America. These colonies, since 1713, had made vast strides forward in wealth and commercial independence, and had shown themselves capable of intelligent self-government. In fact, in their method of governing themselves, they were far ahead of the mother country.

The war with France had so extended the national debt of Great Britain as to make necessary new plans for enlarging the revenue of the kingdom. Grenville therefore proposed, in 1763, to increase the customs revenue by enforcing the navigation acts, and to raise additional funds by other means. The navigation acts had been very lightly enforced for half a century, and the colonies had enjoyed what was really commercial equality with Great Britain. When, therefore, Grenville proposed to enforce the trade laws, particularly the law concerning trade with the West Indies (the Molasses Act), he was asking the colonies to assume again a position of commercial dependence on England.

More serious still was Grenville's proposal to raise money by directly taxing the colonies. In 1765 parliament passed the Stamp Act,[2] requiring the colonists to put a stamp on their papers and legal documents, and thus created a new grievance. The colonists had never doubted the right of parliament to

[1] See the documents in Medley's *Constitutional History*, pp. 623–626.

[2] MacDonald, No. 57.

regulate trade, but they had denied the right of parliament to levy an internal tax upon them, claiming that such tax should be imposed only by their own assemblies. The Americans probably would not have objected to contributing a revenue to help pay the cost of the war and to support an army in America; but they did object to the way the revenue was to be raised. As one assembly said: "The people of this colony are not and from their remote situation cannot be represented in the parliament of Great Britain; and if the principle of taxing the colonies without their consent should be adopted, the people here would be subjected to the taxation of two legislatures, a grievance unprecedented and not to be thought of without anxiety."



INTERNAL REVENUE STAMP DESIGNED FOR USE IN AMERICA.

In 1765 George III dismissed Grenville from office, not because of the Stamp Act, which the king ardently supported, but because of the way in which the minister managed a bill, called the Regency Bill, providing for a regent during the illness of the king. George III appealed to Pitt, who represented the small group of Whigs favorably inclined to America, but the great commoner was unable to form a government. The king was then compelled, greatly against his will, to fall back on the other and larger section of the Whigs, and to give the government into the hands of Rockingham. The Rockingham ministry decided to repeal the Stamp Act, because the merchants declared that the Americans, by refusing to buy British

goods, were causing a falling off of British trade. In the Stamp Act was repealed, but at the same time parlia passed a Declaratory Act, asserting its right to tax th onies.[1] It is not unlikely that Rockingham would have further and have modified the trade laws, had not the king his friends succeeded in driving him from office. In Febru 1766, Rockingham suffered defeat in parliament and resign

George III then requested Pitt, made earl of Chatham in July, 1766, to organize a ministry. Pitt, with Grafton as his colleague, succeeded in this task. But the day of Pitt's greatness had passed. He had sacrificed his popularity among the people and had lost his influence in the House of Commons by accepting a pension and a title; and owing to his increasing ill health, he no longer possessed the power to guide the policy of the ministry. Grafton became the nominal head of the government; but King George, taking advantage of the quarrels among the members of the ministry, was able to compel the latter to do very much as he pleased.

With astonishing disregard of public opinion in the colonies, Charles Townshend, the chancellor of the exchequer, pledged himself to find a revenue in America. Parliament, at his bidding, imposed new duties on glass, paper, red and white lead, painters' colors, and tea, imported thither.[2] This act only increased the discontent in America, without bringing Great Britain any adequate return. The revenue obtained was trifling, and in the case of tea, the tax imposed was less by ninepence than that paid in England. In other words, the Americans were asked to pay only half as much a pound for their tea as the English were paying for theirs.[3] The scheme

[1] MacDonald, No. 60.

[2] MacDonald, Nos. 63, 64.

[3] The way of it was this: The East India Company brought its tea to London and there stored it in warehouses. Then they took out what they wanted to sell in England, on which they paid twelve pence duty. That which they sent to America did not pay the twelve pence duty in England and only the three pence duty in America. The company should have paid the twelve pence in any part of the British world; but to help the company, which was in a bad way financially, the government made this special arrangement.

o foolish in conception and so badly carried out that it
t be defended from any point of view. It has been
ı that the attempts made by the British ministers, from
ville to Townshend, to raise a revenue actually cost more
was received in return, while Townshend's reckless tamper-
with the spirit of a proud and self-reliant people cost Great
.tain her colonies. The question as to whether or not Great Britain had a right to tax the colonies need not be discussed here;[1] but certain is it that a policy which benefited nobody and which inaugurated a period of humiliation for the British people and government can only be condemned. True statesmanship at all times rises higher than the mere letter of the law.

Townshend died in September, 1767, and Lord North took his place as chancellor of the exchequer. All the new duties except that on tea were repealed; but the retention of the tea tax counteracted whatever good results might have followed the repeal. One tax was as bad as a hundred, for the principle involved was the same. The colonists were taking a higher stand than before, and were asserting, not only that parliament could not tax them because they were unrepresented, but also that parliament could not legislate for them at all, in that they were the king's colonies and were, therefore, compelled to submit to no other authority than that of the crown. Parliament had had nothing to say in colonial matters until after the revolution of 1688, when it began to assume certain of the king's prerogatives; and this assumption the colonists refused to recognize. Grafton, in consequence of the discontent in the colonies and of the fierce hostility aroused at home by the efforts of parliament to keep Wilkes out of his seat, resigned on January 28, 1770, and Lord North became head of the ministry.

322. Beginning of the American War for Independence. — The ministry of Lord North, which lasted from 1770 to 1782, is

[1] Lee, No. 204.

memorable in that it marks the beginning of that period of personal rule on the part of the king which ended in the independence of the American colonies. Whig rule, which had lasted half a century, was over; and, though Lord North was nominally head of the government, George III was actually prime minister and cabinet in one. He was the leader of the new Tory party, and he had against him all sections of the Whigs, united as never before in his reign. The administration of Lord North was a Tory administration.



LORD NORTH.
From the original by Dance, in the collection of the Hon. Georgiana North.

George III was now personal head of a party, as well as king, and ready to inaugurate a definite policy toward America. Up to this time, no one seems to have had any fixed plan. Grenville and Townshend had done little else than make mistakes. At first even the cabinet of Lord North was undecided. By a majority of only one it voted, in March, 1770, to retain the tax on tea, but the news of events in America soon stiffened its determination. Quarrels between British soldiers and the colonists had ended in the Boston "massacre," March 5, 1770; the sending over of the tea ships had ended in rioting in South Carolina, the burning of the *Gaspee* in Rhode Island, and the throwing overboard of the tea chests in Boston harbor. The Boston "tea party," as it was called, roused the anger of the ministry, which was now determined to punish the insolence of the colonists. Boston harbor was declared closed, and the charter of Massa-

chusetts was annulled.[1] These acts were equivalent to a declaration of war. The adoption of this policy, which made reconciliation impossible, was due to the king; but it was upheld by the nation, who, surfeited by the victories of the Seven Years' War, rejected compromise as humiliating. Yet compromise in all probability would have been successful; for the colonists were loyal to the mother country, and at this time had expressed no desire to separate themselves from her. Active interference was a blunder; but when once it had been decided upon by the British government, it should have been carried out with thoroughness and despatch. Great Britain in 1775 was in no condition to carry on a war in a country three thousand miles away. The ministry of Lord North drove the colonists into open resistance, at a time when it possessed no definite plans for war, little ammunition, an inadequate force of soldiers and sailors, and only hired mercenaries like the Hessians as the chief part of its army.

In the spring of 1775 British troops in Massachusetts were defeated in the battles of Lexington and Concord by the minute men of that colony. These events roused great excitement in America, but need not have led to a war of independence, inasmuch as a majority of the colonists, representing the best men in America, still hoped for reconciliation and a redress of grievances. Pitt, with all the eloquence in his power, was urging the ministry to adopt a conciliatory policy, but in vain.[2] Events both at home and abroad were working against a peaceful settlement of the difficulty. On July 4, 1776, the colonists, through their representatives assembled in the second Continental Congress at Philadelphia, declared that the colonies "were and of right ought to be free and independent states." The war begun at Lexington for redress of grievances ended in a struggle for separation from Great Britain.

Under George Washington as commander-in-chief, the war continued for a year without definite results for either side.

[1] MacDonald, Nos. 68, 69.

[2] Kendall, No. 119.

Finally, at Saratoga, on October 17, 1777, Sir John Burgoyne, pushing down from Canada to coöperate with the British forces under Howe in Philadelphia, was compelled to surrender with his whole force. This momentous event was the turning-point in the war, and was due in part, at least, to the fact that Howe had received no instructions to meet Burgoyne. This fatal mistake is said to have been due to the neglect of the colonial secretary of state, Lord George Germain, who failed to sign the despatches.[1]

323. Intervention of France. — The surrender at Saratoga gave the enemies of Great Britain an opportunity to take their revenge upon her. France, smarting under the defeats of the Seven Years' War and ready to take advantage of any favorable opportunity of renewing the struggle, sent Lafayette with troops to aid Washington, and a fleet under D'Estaing to the West Indies in February, 1778. So menacing did the danger appear that Lord North declared he was ready to grant the colonies almost everything they wanted except independence. Parliament restored the Massachusetts charter and repealed the tax on tea. It appointed commissioners to go to America to promise amnesty to all and the suspension of all acts relating to America passed since 1763. The commissioners actually went farther, and promised that no more British troops should be sent to America, and that the colonies should have representation in the British parliament.

But it was too late. The colonial war had now become a part of the larger struggle between Great Britain and France, and the colonists stood by their ally. In 1779 Spain joined the coalition. In 1780 Russia, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden formed the Armed Neutrality League, for the purpose of defending the rights of neutrals, that is, of those not engaged in war on either side. They were determined to resist the

[1] This is the reason given by Lord Shelburne, one of the chief opponents of Lord North and his American policy. Fitz-Maurice, *Life of Shelburne*, Vol. I, p. 358.

contention of Great Britain that her ships had a right to seize an enemy's goods even when on a neutral vessel. This danger of war with half of Europe had a very sobering effect on the North ministry and the king. The Whig opposition was daily growing stronger, though opinion was divided as to what was the best course to pursue. Chatham had made his last great speech in parliament against the dismemberment of the empire; others were expressing a willingness to grant independence to the colonies. All controversy was cut short by the great victory of the French and Americans at Yorktown, October 19, 1781, where Cornwallis and his army surrendered.

The year 1781 was one of depression and despair in England. The people vented their wrath on Lord North and held him responsible for the corruption at headquarters and for the war in America. The general elections of 1780 had shown that public opinion was awakening, and the new parliament proved very difficult for the king to manage. On March 4, 1782, Conway brought forward his famous resolution against a further prosecution of the war in America, and on the 20th Lord North resigned. The new ministry, made up of both sections of the Whigs, was led by Rockingham of the old section, and after his death in July, by Shelburne, the ally and successor of Chatham. The period of the personal rule of King George was over and the independence of the colonies was now assured.[1]

324. Treaty of Peace (1783).[2] — So discouraging was the outlook for England when negotiations for peace began, that it seemed at first as if she would be stripped of many of her colonial possessions. But a victory by Rodney, in 1782, over De Grasse, off Guadeloupe in the West Indies, and a successful British defence of Gibraltar against the Spaniards in the same

[1] Kendall, No. 121.

[2] The treaty between Great Britain and the United States was signed at Paris on the same day that treaties between Great Britain and France and Great Britain and Spain were signed at Versailles. MacDonald's *Select Documents of United States History*, No. 3.

year, changed the situation, and England was in the main able to hold her own. By the treaty with the United States signed at Paris, in January, 1783, Great Britain acknowledged the independence of her chief American colonies; but she retained Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. She gave back Florida to Spain, who, possessing the Louisiana territory by cession from France in the treaty of 1763, now shut in the new republic on the south and west. Great Britain also returned St. Lucia and Tobago of the West Indies to France, and was compelled, most unwillingly, to consent to Spain's retention of Minorca and the cession to France of Senegal and the island of Gorée in Africa. But for Rodney's victory, Great Britain would probably have lost all her West India colonies; as it was, she kept everything except Tobago. Her escape was a narrow one.

325. New Colonial Acquisitions in the Pacific. — Save for the loss of the American colonies, Great Britain had emerged from the war with little diminution of territory; and that little was to be in a measure made up in new acquisitions elsewhere. It is an interesting coincidence that at the very time of the American war Captain Cook should have been making his three famous voyages into the South Seas and discovering New Zealand and Australia, of which he took possession in the name of King George. Perhaps not since the days of Elizabeth had English explorers been more active than in the years from 1770 to 1815. From Vancouver Island and Puget Sound to Van Dieman's Land, they were laying the foundation for a wide extension of colonial territory. In 1788 the settlement of New South Wales began, and Australia, New Zealand, Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania), the New Hebrides, Fiji, and other islands became centres of new British activity in the Pacific.

But the new possessions were not to be treated as England had treated the American colonies, that is, as merely sources of supply for the mother country. From this time forward the old colonial system, characterized by navigation acts and

restrictive measures, ceased to exist in fact, though not in law. This change came about, not only because of the lesson taught by the Revolution, but also because the old system had outlived its usefulness. The economist who did more than any one else to show that the old, or "mercantile," system was an injury rather than a benefit to England, was Adam Smith. In the same year (1776) that the Americans by their Declaration of Independence were protesting against the old British colonial system, Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, was demonstrating the futility of the system by an appeal to facts and figures.

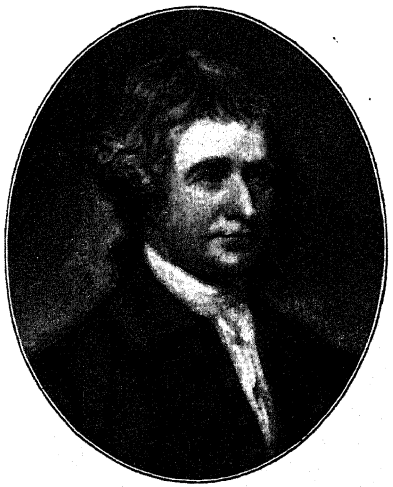
326. Reforms at Home. — Although, in reality, the old colonial policy of Great Britain was responsible for the loss of the American colonies, there were other and more direct causes to which attention has already been called. These were the interference of George III, the second-rate and blundering statesmanship of his ministers, the corruption that pervaded all the offices of government and filled parliament with placemen and partisans. Great Britain from 1761 to 1783 was governed by weak and commonplace men, the representatives of influential families, who managed well enough when affairs went smoothly, but who were hopelessly inefficient in a great crisis like that through which England had just passed.

Some reforms had already been made. In 1771 the practice of secret deliberation in parliament had been given up, and the publication of debates, though not officially allowed, was no longer followed by attempts to arrest and imprison the printer. Thenceforth the public knew what was being said in the House of Commons. Twenty years later (1792), Fox's libel law[1] aided still further the free expression of opinion, by giving to a jury the decision as to whether or not an article was a libel. Toward the close of the American war, public opinion was aroused against the entire system of bribery and corruption, and from 1779 to 1781 public meetings were held to

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 256.

protest against an administration that was bringing humiliation upon England. Popular sentiment found expression in Dunning's famous resolution of April, 1780, "That the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."[1]

In the same year Edmund Burke, the greatest of England's orators and a loyal friend of the colonies, brought in an elaborate scheme for economic reform, which was designed to do away with useless offices and to prevent waste, jobbery, and peculation in every department. It failed to pass in 1780, but in 1782 was put through in modified form by the Rockingham ministry. By this measure some forty or fifty thousand revenue officers were forbidden to vote in the elections; forty or more offices, such as that of the king's turnspit, for example, were abolished; the pension list was curtailed; the secret service fund was cut down; and colonial officials were no longer allowed to hold their positions by deputy or for life. In this way £72,000 were saved annually to the government, and the king's patronage was materially diminished.



EDMUND BURKE.
After a painting by George Romney.

327. Corruption of Parties. — This reform, important though it was, scarcely touched the real evil of parliamentary and political corruption. The government was in the hands of an oligarchy, which governed in its own interest, with but

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 254; Kendall, No. 107.

slight regard for the welfare of the people at large or for the progress of the country.

The high-water mark of intrigue and ambition was reached in 1783, when the Tories, led by Lord North, allied themselves with the old Whigs to retain power and to curtail the influence of the king. The old Whigs were led by Charles James Fox, one of England's greatest debaters and ablest men, but a statesman passionate and impulsive, and possessed of but little foresight. The coalition ministry brought matters to a crisis. As Lord Rosebery says: "The country was sick of its old lot — the politicians who had fought and embraced and intrigued and jobbed among themselves, with the result of landing Great Britain in an abyss of disaster and discomfiture. There was something rotten in the state, and the rottenness seemed to begin in the politicians."[1] Against the coalition, George III fought with all the resources at his command; and when, in December, 1783, the House of Lords defeated Fox's bill for the better government of India, he called for the resignation of the ministry. Within twelve hours he had placed the government in the hands of William Pitt, son of the earl of Chatham.



CHARLES JAMES FOX.
From an engraving by Jones after a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

328. Rise of the Younger Pitt. — Pitt, when but twenty-one years old, had made his maiden speech in defending Burke's

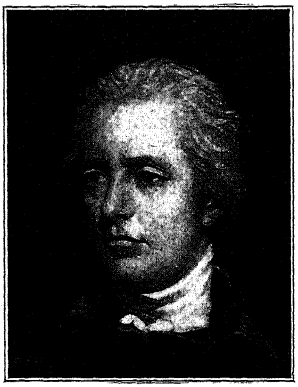
[1] Rosebery, *Pitt*, pp. 58–60.

reform bill, and now, at the age of twenty-five, was prime minister. At the outset of his ministry he won popular approval by his single-handed contest with the old leaders of parliament — Fox, Burke, and North — and by his refusal to accept pensions or sinecures. The struggle lasted for three months. Pitt was defeated regularly in the House of Commons, but refused to resign, confident that the country was with him. Fox injured his cause and that of the coalition ministry by opposing a dissolution of parliament and by declaring that Pitt ought to resign. But the obstinacy of Fox cost him the support of parliament. Honorable members, who admired Pitt's courage, and placemen, who wanted to be on the winning side, began to desert the old cause. Finally, on March 24, 1784, after three months' patient waiting, Pitt was able to obtain a vote to dissolve. At once new elections were ordered, and these proved overwhelmingly favorable to him. The Whigs fell from power, and Pitt became the centre of authority and the absolute head of the government. These elections stand as a landmark in British history, because they represent a victory of the voting constituencies over corrupt political leaders like Fox.

329. Early Years of Pitt's Administration. — Pitt was confronted by a task of herculean proportions, and was able to do but little to improve the political condition of England. How much he would have accomplished, had not the best years of his life been spent in guiding his country through one of her greatest wars, no one can say. It was his misfortune, not his fault, that his name is connected with no great reform measure. His name is associated with the French Revolution and with Napoleon Bonaparte; yet he was by nature a reformer, a lover of peace, a friend of enlightened progress. Many reform measures that he advocated failed to pass in his day; but they are worthy of consideration, in that they are characteristic of the man and anticipated many of the changes that came about during the next century.

In the interest of the finances of the kingdom, Pitt checked

smuggling, increased the revenue by distributing taxation more evenly, refused to allow favoritism in public loans, and originated a masterly scheme for the redemption of the national debt. He concluded an advantageous commercial treaty with France, and sought to give Ireland equal commercial privileges with England. He brought in three measures for a reform of parliament, proposing the gradual abolition of petty boroughs and the transfer of these seats to great cities like London, — measures which, like the Irish bill, were defeated in parliament. He showed himself in full sympathy with Clarkson and Wilberforce, who were trying to abolish the slave trade; with Whitbread, who wished to improve the condition of the poor; and with others, who were attempting to establish a system of popular education. But all the efforts he made in these directions were premature and unsuccessful.



WILLIAM PITT, THE YOUNGER.
From the portrait by Hoppner.

330. Pitt and the Government of India: Warren Hastings. — While able to deal with the minutiæ of domestic reform, Pitt had a mind broad enough to grasp also the intricate problems of empire. For twenty years the great question of the government of India had been before the country. As formerly in some of the American colonies, so in India, a trading company was in control. But the great opportunities for wealth and power that India furnished gave the East India Company an influence and a position that no company ever obtained elsewhere. In 1773 a regulating act had been passed by parliament, to check abuses; and Warren Hastings had been sent out as the first governor-general under the act. During Hasting's governorship, Fox had brought in a bill for the better

government of India, placing the company under the
of the British government; but it failed of passage
to the opposition of the king. In 1784 Pitt framed a mea
which left commercial matters in the hands of the comp
but gave political control to the British government. Under
this system India was governed till 1858.

In 1785 Hastings, after thirteen years of efficient service, returned to England, and was immediately confronted with charges of maladministration, cruelty, and corruption in dealing with the native princes of India. That he had used methods unsanctioned in civilized countries, in order to further conquest and control, there is no doubt; but how far civilized standards ought to govern a conqueror in his treatment of a half-civilized people was then, and is now, a matter of dispute.[1] Burke attacked Hastings with all the fire of his eloquence; and Pitt, on the ground that the acts of public servants should be kept under strict scrutiny, sustained the prosecution. In 1787 Hastings was impeached and tried before the House of Lords.[2] The malevolence of Hastings's enemies and the oratory of Burke exaggerated the importance of the trial at the time; while the matchless rhetoric of Macaulay unduly magnified the whole affair in the century that followed. Hastings was eventually acquitted on all the charges brought against him.

331. Foreign Affairs: the Revolution in France. — Though Pitt was essentially a peace minister, a student of financial and social problems, and a promoter of reforms, he was, after four years of service, confronted with foreign difficulties that compelled him to drop permanently his reform schemes. At first he resolutely refused to be entangled in foreign affairs. In 1787 he joined with Prussia to compel the Dutch republicans to take back their stadtholder, whom they had driven from the country; and in 1790 he arranged peacefully with Spain a controversy over settlements at Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island.

[1] For a letter of Hastings, defending his course, see Lee, No. 230.

[2] Compare Kendall, No. 122.

eater issues were already becoming prominent. In 1789 tates-general of France had met for the first time since , and at once that great revolution began which was to throw the power of the French nobility, to bring about death of King Louis XVI, and to establish the first re- olic in France.

At first many persons in England greeted the movement ith satisfaction, believing that it would result in the over- hrow of tyranny and the establishment of liberty. A Revolution Society was formed[1] in England; and Fox, overwrought with a love of liberalism, applauded the actors in the great tragedy. But Burke saw with alarm the overthrow of the old institutions, and in his *Reflections on the French Revolution* viewed the future with grave apprehensions.[2] Pitt, agreeing with Burke rather than with Fox, continued his efforts to avoid war, and until 1792 was successful. But the policy of the French revolutionists rendered his efforts of no avail. In 1792 the Girondists, leaders of the French Legislative Assembly, declared war on Europe. The events of the war that followed led to an increase of revolutionary fever in Paris, which ended in massacres in the city (September, 1792), the proclamation of the republic (September, 1792), and the execution of the king (January, 1793).[3] These events made it impossible for Pitt to maintain a peace policy any longer. The excitement in England, due to the attack on monarchy by the French republicans, was increased by the decrees passed in November, 1792, by the National Convention, — that body which succeeded the Legislative Assembly in France, — fiercely attacking the institutions of all monarchical countries and threatening war for the overthrow of kingdoms and the establishment of republics wherever possible. The execution of Louis XVI sent a thrill of horror throughout England.

[1] Colby, No. 104. [2] Kendall, No. 123.

[3] For documents illustrating the French Revolution, see *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 5 (Robinson, "The French Revolution, 1789–1791").

Whigs were silenced, and even Fox considered it a revolting act of cruelty and injustice. But before the Pitt ministry could take any step, the Convention itself had declared war against England (February 1, 1793).

The First Coalition consisted at first of Austria and Prussia. War began in 1792, and in 1793 Great Britain and Holland entered the alliance. Holland was conquered by the French and transformed into the Batavian Republic in 1795; in the same year Prussia signed the treaty of Basel and withdrew from the coalition. Austria fought on till 1797, when the treaty of Campo-Formio was agreed upon. Great Britain alone remained. Her share in the war consisted in sending money and troops to the Continent, and in employing her navy to blockade French harbors and to seize the vessels and the colonies of France and her allies, Spain and the Batavian Republic. Her efforts on land were largely unsuccessful. The siege of Toulon (1793), a port in the Mediterranean that Great Britain desired to make the base of further operations for the restoration of the French monarchy, was defeated by the skill of Captain Napoleon Bonaparte and the courage of the French soldiers. Great Britain was also unsuccessful in her attempts to help the royalists by an expedition to Quiberon Bay (1795), and to support the Corsican patriots by despatching troops to Corsica. At sea she made a better record. Howe defeated the French fleet off Brest in 1794; Jervis crippled the Spanish fleet by a victory off Cape St. Vincent in 1797; and Duncan restored the prestige of the navy and checked a projected invasion of Ireland by the defeat of the Dutch at Camperdown, October 11, 1797. In the world beyond the seas, Great Britain captured the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon from the Batavian Republic in 1795 and 1796, and Trinidad from Spain in 1797.

332. Effect of the Revolution on England.—The revolution and the war checked England's progress and brought to an end Pitt's efforts at reform. The nobility and the aristocratic families, fearing that republican ideas would take root in England, sternly repressed every proposal to extend the

franchise or to increase in any way the power of the people. Even Pitt himself, in 1792, refused to consider further measures for reforming parliament. Anticipating a revolution in England, parliament twice suspended the Habeas Corpus Act,[1] passed laws against foreigners, checked the freedom of public discussion, and punished severely all who protested against the laws. An attempt to kill George III (1795) was followed by restrictive measures forbidding all speech against the king, and controlling public meetings and the right of discussion. The period from 1792 to 1815 in England was one of reaction and repression.

333. Union with Ireland. — Next to the war with France, no question at this time was of greater moment than that of England's relations with Ireland. The conditions that followed the peace of Limerick had become intolerable to the natives of Ireland, and they had come to hate the ruling classes. Only a fourth of the Irish possessed political privileges, and the parliament that governed them was representative not even of that fourth.

Before the American Revolution the Irish had been sullen, but after that event they became openly rebellious. The Protestants, who desired an increase of parliamentary independence and a measure of commercial privilege, had organized in 1778 the Patriotic party, under the leadership of Flood and Grattan, and had sought to conciliate the Roman Catholics by repealing some of the worst of the penal laws. They had demanded of England free trade and a free parliament. Lord North, involved in the American war, had made a few commercial concessions in 1779; and in 1782 Rockingham had freed the Irish parliament from the control of the English government. In 1785 Pitt had come forward with a new plan, whereby he hoped "to unite the two countries on some sure basis of commercial intercourse and common interest." But the English parliament had rejected his proposals.

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 257.

The Irish were, therefore, in a condition of mind to be deeply affected by the French Revolution. Some desired an alliance with France, others the entire overthrow of British control and the establishment of an Irish republic, while nearly all demanded the reform of the Irish parliament. Pitt wished to give the Roman Catholics representation in the Irish parliament, and sent over Lord Fitzwilliam to check rebellion and to strengthen the Irish government by granting Roman Catholics political privileges. But Fitzwilliam failed in his mission, largely because George III refused to sanction any measure which would give political power into the hands of the Roman Catholics. In consequence of this failure the Irish determined to obtain independence by revolution. In 1796, and again in 1797, the French endeavored to help them by sending troops to their aid. In 1798 the revolution had attained such proportions that a veritable reign of terror ensued in the island, and it became evident to all that the British government must take definite action.

Pitt came to the conclusion that the only remedy for Irish discontent was the parliamentary union of Ireland with Great Britain. Therefore, he deliberately bought the votes of a majority in the Irish parliament, and obtained in that body a vote favorable to his scheme. On July 21, 1800, the Act of Union was passed[1] and Ireland became a part of the United Kingdom. The Irish cross was added to the Union Jack; and after January, 1801, four bishops, twenty peers, and one hundred Irish members sat in the Houses of Parliament at Westminster.

334. War with France: the Second Coalition. — In 1797 Great Britain desired peace with France, and Pitt entered into negotiations at Lille in that year for the purpose of ending the war. But the negotiators could not agree on the terms. A financial crisis had just occurred in London, and a mutiny had taken place among British seamen at The Nore. The French com-

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 258; Lee, Nos. 206–208.

missioners, believing that Great Britain was exhausted, refused to allow her to retain Trinidad and the Cape, and proposed to take Gibraltar, the Channel Islands, and perhaps a part of Newfoundland, — concessions that Great Britain would not for a moment listen to. Therefore the war went on, but under new conditions.

The general of the French army in Italy was now Napoleon Bonaparte, who, after a series of magnificent victories, had forced Austria to sign the treaty of Campo-Formio (1797). After the campaign in Italy, Bonaparte became the real director of the French policy, and soon showed that his chief object was to compass the overthrow of Great Britain. To accomplish this object he formed three plans of attack, any or all of which might be brought into use: (1) to invade England directly; (2) to attack her on the Continent by depriving her of Hanover; (3) "to undertake an eastern expedition which would menace her trade with the Indies."[1] Inasmuch as only the last of these plans seemed practicable at that time, Bonaparte set out for Egypt in 1797, to force Great Britain to a peace, by destroying her eastern commerce. He seems to have had in mind also the restoration of French supremacy in India, by means of an alliance with Tippoo Sahib, son of Hyder Ali, with whom Warren Hastings had warred for four years. But his elaborate undertaking ended in disaster. His fleet was annihilated by the British admiral, Horatio Nelson, in the battle of the Nile, August 1, 1798,[2] a victory which cut off Bonaparte from France and won for England the control of the Mediterranean. At St. John Acre, in Syria, the British general, Sydney Smith, checked the advance of Bonaparte and compelled him to be satisfied with establishing French control in Egypt.

During the absence of Bonaparte, Russia and Austria formed with Great Britain the Second Coalition and renewed the war. Bonaparte returned from Egypt in 1799, and overthrowing the government of the Directory, made himself, as First Consul,

[1] Rose, *Napoleon I*, Vol. I, p 161. [2] Colby, No. 107.

the head of the French state. In this position he was able more vigorously than ever to carry on the war with the Second Coalition; for a single head is always more powerful in war and diplomacy than a board of directors or a ministry dependent on parliament. In 1800 he overwhelmed Austria in the battles of Hohenlinden and Marengo, and in 1801 forced her to sign the treaty of Lunéville. Russia had already withdrawn from the coalition, disgusted by the conduct of her allies and jealous of Austria. Great Britain alone remained, and Bonaparte seemed powerless to injure her. She maintained her hold on Malta and the Mediterranean and finally won back Egypt. She checked all Bonaparte's attempts to aid the revolt in Ireland, and by winning the battle of Copenhagen, April 2, 1801, obtained the mastery of the Baltic. Bonaparte was master on the land, but Great Britain was still mistress of the sea.

335. The Peace of Amiens. — In 1801 both France and England desired a cessation of hostilities. Bonaparte wished to restore order in France, to organize the government there, and to prepare for the gigantic struggle for empire that he knew was before him. Great Britain was equally willing to have peace. Her people were passing through an industrial revolution which was unsettling the economic condition of the country. Population and wealth were increasing, towns were growing, workmen were shifting their occupation from the cottage to the factory, employment was becoming uncertain, the poor were suffering, and on every hand new economic and social problems were arising. The national debt had increased to more than £500,000,000. Ireland was not yet reconciled to the Act of Union, and time was needed to improve the conditions in that island. In February, 1801, Pitt had resigned, because George III had positively refused to consider any measure whereby the Roman Catholics in England might be granted political rights; and a Whig ministry, with Addington at its head, had come into power. By an irony of fate, this commonplace and nerveless leader, a minister at the king's

command, was called upon to conduct the foreign affairs of Great Britain at one of the most critical periods in the history of the war. Once more the influence of the king was to have a disastrous effect on England's politics.

After many negotiations during the year 1801, preliminaries of peace were agreed upon in London, October 1. The Addington ministry gave way on almost every important point. Great Britain restored to France, Spain, and the Batavian Republic all that she had taken from them, retaining only Trinidad and Ceylon. Egypt was restored to Turkey, and Malta was promised to the former owners, the Knights of St. John, under the protection of a third power, a clause which was modified later to read, "under the protection of the European powers." Great Britain restored all ports and islands that she held in the Adriatic and Mediterranean; and to complete this exhibition of amiability, George III threw in the title of "King of France," which he and his predecessors had borne since 1340.[1]

In arranging these preliminaries Bonaparte scored a great diplomatic victory. "The only British gains after nine years of warfare, fruitful in naval triumphs, but entailing an addition of £290,000,000 to the national debt, were the islands of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon."[2] The formal treaty, differing in but few particulars from the preliminaries already agreed upon, was signed at Amiens, on March 25, 1802.

336. Rupture of the Peace: The Colonial Policy of Napoleon. — Great Britain's best excuse for the treaty of Amiens was that it seemed to bring the peace that she so sorely needed. "It was a peace," says Sheridan, "that nobody would be proud of, but everybody would be glad of." Yet before eight months had passed, the British ministry knew that the peace could not be kept. By this treaty, France had regained all her lost colonies, and Napoleon[3] was determined to make these the

[1] For illustrations of the royal arms, see Gardiner, *Students' History of England*, pp. 239, 482, 844.

[2] Rose, *Napoleon I*, Vol. I, p. 290.

[3] After he became consul for life, Bonaparte generally used his Christian name, as was customary with monarchs.

basis of a new colonial empire to take the place of that which Great Britain had destroyed in the Seven Years' War.[1]

No sooner had the treaty been signed than Napoleon undertook to carry out his plan: (1) he reëstablished the authority of France in Haiti in 1802, and made that place a base of operations in the West Indies; (2) he prepared an expedition to New Orleans, called upon Spain to issue an order closing the lower Mississippi to vessels of the United States, and demanded the transfer of the Louisiana territory to France; (3) he sent General Decaen to India to recover French control there (1802); and (4) for the purpose of claiming Australia for France, he planned to make use of a scientific expedition that had been sent to the island continent in 1800. This scheme was a grand one, even for Napoleon, and had it succeeded would have created a colonial empire for France that might have rivalled that of Great Britain.

But it did not succeed. The expedition to Haiti and St. Domingo failed, for twenty officers and thirty thousand men died in the fever swamps of those islands. Thereupon Napoleon abandoned the expedition to New Orleans, and sold Louisiana, in 1803, to the United States for $15,000,000, thus giving up his plan of a French empire in the western world. In the East he was no more successful. The attempt to annex Australia came to nothing, because British explorers had already claimed the island by right of first discovery, and were in actual possession of the coast. Before General Decaen and his fleet could reach India, war had broken out in Europe; and Sir Arthur Wellesley at Calcutta, by victories at Assaye and Argaum over the Mahrattas, rendered ineffectual any attempts of the French to recover their influence there.

In 1802 the British ministers began to suspect that Napoleon was preparing to cripple Great Britain by striking at her colonies and her commerce. They watched with suspicion his attempt to exclude from France British manufactures, such as

[1] Rose, *Napoleon I*, Vol. I, pp. 328–329; Chap. XV.

hardware, cotton, and woollen goods; and they learned with great uneasiness of his various colonial enterprises. They believed that he would seize Malta in order to control the Mediterranean; possibly attack Turkey, regain Egypt, and, with the Cape of Good Hope in his possession, overthrow the East India Company in India. It is hardly surprising that the Addington ministry, holding these suspicions, should have refused to give up Malta, in accordance with the treaty of Amiens, on the technical ground that Russia and Austria had not guaranteed the safety of the island, as by the terms of the treaty they were bound to do. Napoleon was enraged when he heard of Great Britain's refusal, and charged the British government with having broken the treaty. So strained had become the relations between France and Great Britain by May, 1803, that the Addington ministry, acknowledged by all to be too weak to cope with the situation, resigned, and Pitt was recalled as prime minister. On May 20 war was formally declared.

337. Renewal of War: Attempt of Napoleon to invade England. — The regret that the nation felt at the renewal of war gave way at this juncture to a desire for revenge. Four days after war had been declared, Napoleon ordered that all Englishmen in France, between eighteen and sixty years of age, ten thousand in number, should be held as prisoners of war. By this unwarranted act he expressed his anger at the disturbance of his plans. There is reason to think that he wished to delay war for a year or two longer, until his navy should be ready, and his expedition to India and the South Seas should have accomplished its work. Had he possessed a fleet equal to that of Great Britain, he would have struck the first blow himself by invading England or Ireland. But Great Britain's declaration of war took him unprepared and threw his plans into disorder.

Nothing daunted, however, Napoleon entered the struggle with undiminished ardor, and by his own enthusiasm aroused the enthusiasm of France against "perfidious Albion." In Great Britain the war fever rose to the highest pitch. Vol-

unteer regiments were equipped, coast defence was completed, and the navy began a running attack on French ports and seized the best of the French islands in the West Indies. Not content with these measures, the British government gave aid to conspiracies and plots against Napoleon. It paid money to further a famous plot of Cadoudal, which not only failed of its chief purpose, the assassination of Napoleon, but led to an act of retaliation, the execution of the innocent royalist, the duke of Enghien, — one of Napoleon's greatest blunders. All these conspiracies came to nothing, and in 1804 Napoleon Bonaparte was crowned emperor of the French as Napoleon I.

For a year Napoleon had been massing his forces at Boulogne for an invasion of England. But to cross the channel with an army demanded possession of that strait for the full time of the passage; and to obtain such possession it became necessary to get a part of the British fleet out of the way. For this purpose Napoleon despatched Admiral Villeneuve to the West Indies, that the latter might draw off Nelson's squadron in pursuit. Villeneuve, having accomplished his purpose, was to return with all speed, leaving Nelson behind, and after picking up the Spanish vessels, was to take up his station off Brest. It was hoped that the French fleet, outnumbering the remaining British ships under Admirals Calder and Cornwallis, would be able to guard the channel. But the plan miscarried. Villeneuve sailed for the West Indies and Nelson followed him. But on his return, the French admiral was confronted off Cape Finisterre by a part of the British squadron under Calder, and compelled to engage in a battle, on July 22, 1805, which seriously crippled him. Deeming this a sufficient misfortune to warrant delay, Villeneuve, instead of pushing on to the channel, turned back, and sought the harbor of Cadiz. Napoleon waited for him in vain at Boulogne; all hope of an invasion of England vanished; and the second attempt to overthrow Great Britain ended in failure.

338. War of the Third Coalition. — In the meantime Russia and Austria, enraged at Napoleon's continued insults on the

Continent, had made an alliance with England and formed the Third Coalition. Russia, poor as always, asked for British subsidies, which were rather unwillingly furnished; and Austria, hoping to find Napoleon entangled in his naval projects, pushed on her own preparations with great eagerness. Thus not only Great Britain, but Russia and Austria, the two greatest land powers, were ranged against Napoleon. But he, undaunted by his failure at Boulogne, turned with lightning rapidity on Austria and crushed her in the siege of Ulm (October 11) and the battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805). But fortune refused to favor him at sea and in the colonies. On October 21, Admiral Nelson met the French and Spanish fleets off Cape Trafalgar and came off victor in one of the greatest sea-fights in history. The battle of Trafalgar destroyed forever Napoleon's hopes of winning control of the ocean, and, taken in conjunction with the victories of Wellesley in India, marked a new era in the growth of the British empire.

Trafalgar placed the colonial possessions of the French, Dutch, and Spanish at the mercy of Great Britain, but cost her the life of Nelson, her greatest admiral, who was mortally wounded in the fight. Three months afterward Great Britain lost her greatest statesman of the period. On January 23, 1806, Pitt died, worn out with the cares and anxieties of the war. He was succeeded by a coalition ministry under Fox and Grenville, known as the "Ministry of all the Talents."

339. The Continental System.—Napoleon was gradually winning control of the Continent: Austria in 1805, Prussia in 1806, and Russia in 1806 and 1807, fell before his military genius; and when he made a treaty with the Czar Alexander I, in 1807, he seemed to be master of the fortunes of western Europe. But every effort to crush Great Britain had failed; and now, with the power of the Continent behind him, he determined to make one more mighty effort to destroy her. Believing that the strength of Great Britain lay in her commerce, he determined to ruin her by excluding her goods from France and all the other states of Europe that would obey him.

In a decree issued from Berlin, May 16, 1806, he declared that the British Isles were in a state of blockade, and he threatened to seize the ships of any country that traded with them.[1] Great Britain replied in the first Orders in Council of January 7, 1807, threatening to seize the ships of any country that traded with France or her allies; and in November, after Napoleon had compelled nearly all of the states of Europe to adopt the Continental system, issued a second series of orders (November 4–25), repeating the threats of the first, and considerably adding to them. Napoleon replied from Milan (November 23, December 17), threatening to seize every neutral vessel that obeyed the British orders. This trade war undoubtedly injured Great Britain, already deeply agitated by labor troubles due to the introduction of machinery; but it injured France and Napoleon more. The Continent could not do without such goods as the colonies and Great Britain furnished, and states like Prussia, Russia, and Austria were exasperated by the continuance of a system that increased the costs of living and impoverished their people. Napoleon, without a navy, could not enforce his decrees; and an enormous amount of smuggling went on at every important port. In the end, this war contributed to the overthrow of Napoleon, because it cost him the allegiance of many peoples who had made alliances with him, and lured him on to attempt military feats that were too great for any man to perform.

340. War with the United States (1812).—Great Britain herself was led to commit deeds that seemed as openly acts of aggression as were any of which Napoleon had been guilty. In 1807, hearing that the latter was planning to compel Denmark to join him and his system, she proposed an alliance with Denmark; when this was refused, she sent a fleet, bombarded Copenhagen (September 7, 1807), and seized the Danish navy. Whatever may be said in defence of this action, certain is it

[1] For documents relating to the Continental System, see *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 2 (Robinson, "The Napoleonic Period"); Colby, No. 110.

that its results were disastrous to Great Britain. It aroused against her the wrath of the Danish nation and drove the Danes over to the side of Napoleon.

More serious still was the equally aggressive policy adopted by Great Britain toward neutrals. Her order forbidding them to trade directly with the Continent, and her claim of the right to search neutral vessels for contraband goods or British deserters, roused the United States to a declaration of war (June 18, 1812). The war, conducted in part on land and in greater part on sea, ended ingloriously for Great Britain. The American sailors proved the better seamen, and a series of naval conflicts terminated in a great victory for Perry, who defeated the British on Lake Erie. On the land, a British force captured and burned the city of Washington; desultory fighting went on along the Canadian frontier; and Jackson won an important victory over the British at New Orleans. Peace was finally signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814.[1] This war, but a side issue in England's great military operations, gave a splendid impetus to American national unity, and led Great Britain to modify her naval policy.

341. Continuance of the Struggle with Napoleon: The Peninsular War. — In 1808 the Spanish people rose in revolt against Napoleon, and Great Britain at once took a new part in the struggle. Portugal, her ally, was threatened with partition, as the outcome of Napoleon's intrigues with Spain; and to her aid the British government despatched Wellesley, recently recalled from India. In August, 1808, Wellesley landed on the coast near Lisbon. From 1808 to 1814 this great general, often neglected by his own government, and thwarted by the Portuguese and Spaniards whom he had come to aid, fought courageously on.[2] Napoleon at first endeavored to conduct the campaign in person; but in 1809 he was called back to central Europe by the uprising of Austria. Though checked at Aspern, he defeated that power at Wagram for the fourth

[1] MacDonald, *Select Documents*, Nos. 30, 31. [2] Colby, No. 111.

time. In 1812 he began his fatal march on Moscow. In 1813 he struggled with wonderful genius against Prussia and Russia in the wars of liberation; until finally he was thoroughly beaten by the fourth Coalition at Leipzig, and compelled to return to France. All these years Wellesley, who had been made duke of Wellington in 1809, was fighting in Spain. Supplied with troops from England by way of the sea-coast, he was able to engage three hundred thousand of Napoleon's best soldiers at a time when the emperor stood in greatest need of them. Little by little he cleared Spain of French troops, got control of one district after another, and in 1814 was able to cross into France. There he joined the armies of the other allies, which, winning victories on French soil, compelled Napoleon to abdicate April 11, 1814.

342. Congress of Vienna: Napoleon at St. Helena. — In 1814 Napoleon was sent to Elba, and the Bourbons were restored in France. To settle the future of Europe, a great congress, the most important thus far in the history of the world, was held at Vienna. England was represented there first by Lord Castlereagh and afterward by the duke of Wellington. While the congress was still in session, Napoleon escaped from Elba, and returning to France, established once more his authority and dynasty. Though he promised to rule in peace, the allies would not consent to his restoration, and immediately set their armies in motion against him. At Waterloo, on the frontier of Belgium, June 18, 1815, he was totally defeated[1] by the combined forces of England, under Wellington, and of Prussia, under Blücher and Gneisenau. After abdicating for the second time, Napoleon was sent to the island of St. Helena, in the South Atlantic, where he died in 1821. The Congress of Vienna went on with its work; and in a great treaty of 1815 completed the rearrangement of the map of Europe. Peace had at last come to the nations, and England was released from war to enter upon a new era of growth and reform.

[1] Kendall, No. 126.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER XII.—There is no adequate history of the last decade of the seventeenth century, and no biography whatever of William III, except that of Traill, in the English Statesman Series, which partakes of the nature of an essay. Macaulay's *History*, which extends to 1702, has been well called "A great Whig epic," with William III as its hero. Stanhope (Lord Mahon) has covered the eighteenth century in two series of volumes: *History of England from 1701 to 1713*, 2 vols. (1870, 5th ed. 1889), and *History of England from 1713 to 1783*, 7 vols. (1853, 5th ed. 1858). Though from the literary standpoint this work is less attractive than that of Macaulay, it is more accurate and impartial. Stanhope concerned himself, however, chiefly with political and military matters, and relegated art, literature, life, and manners to short chapters at the end of the volumes. The work lacks proportion and perspective, and is hard to read. Lecky has dealt with the period in a very different fashion, in his *History of England during the Eighteenth Century*, 8 vols. (1883–1890). He was interested in many aspects of the subject, and treated the period from the moral, social, and philosophical points of view. There are no better accounts anywhere of the religious revival, the events leading to the American war, the causes of the French Revolution, and the circumstances attending the union of Ireland with Great Britain. A large amount of space (Vol. VI, from chap. XXIV to the end, Vols. VII, VIII) is devoted to Ireland. Much space is given also to manners and customs, modes of thought, theatre, art, knowledge, agriculture, manufactures, the penal code, the slave trade, etc. The work is rather a series of essays than a continuous history.

The following works form a selected list of the most useful biographies of the leading men of the period. Coxe wrote a three-volume life of Marlborough, "tiresome but exhaustive." Short biographies of the great general have been written by Mrs. Creighton, in Historical Biographies Series (1879), and by Saintsbury, in English Worthies Series (1885). Wolseley has written *Life of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough*, to 1702. Malleson's *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (1888) is the only life in English of that great soldier. There is no adequate life of Harley. Two recent works, *Life and Times of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford* (1902), and Roscoe's *Harley* (1902), aim to supply the want. MacKnight's *Life of Bolingbroke* (1863) is still the best; Hassall's *Bolingbroke* is fair; Sichel's *Bolingbroke* (1901–1903) is of uneven merit. There is no complete life of Walpole, except the exhaustive work of Coxe (1798). Morley's *Walpole*, in the English Statesmen Series, is an able work, but is distinctly unfair to Walpole's opponents. There is a life of Chatham, by Greene, in the Heroes Series. Thackeray's *Life of*

Chatham called forth Macaulay's well-known essay on Chatham in the *Edinburgh Review* (1834). There is no adequate life of Clive, though short biographies have appeared in the English Men of Action Series and in the Rulers of India Series. Malcolm's ponderous *Life of Robert, Lord Clive*, gave Macaulay his opportunity to write an essay on Clive in the *Edinburgh Review* (1840), one of the best of his essays. In the same manner, Gleig's *Memoirs of the Life of Hastings* led to Macaulay's essay on Hastings in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1841. Admirable lives of Hastings have been written by Trotter (Rulers of India Series) and by Lyall (English Men of Action Series). Malleson has written *The Founders of the Indian Empire: Clive, Hastings, Wellesley* (1882). There is a life of Rockingham by Albemarle; and the two studies of Burke by Morley (*Edmund Burke, a Historical Study*, 1867, and *Burke*, in English Men of Letters Series, 1888) are adequate. Trevelyan's *Early Life of Charles James Fox* (1871), "interesting but discursive," and his *The American Revolution*, Part I, 1766–1776 (1899), practically a continuation of the former, are well worth reading, though they lack many of the characteristics of well-balanced biography and history. Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, 4 vols. (1862), is a standard work; and in conjunction with it may be read Rosebery's masterly defence of Pitt in the English Statesmen Series (1891). The ablest life of Napoleon is Rose's *Life of Napoleon I*, 2 vols. (1902). It throws new light on many aspects of the foreign policy of Great Britain from 1801 to 1815. The best life of Nelson is by Mahan, *The Life of Nelson, the Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain*, 2 vols. (1897). This work is a continuation of the same author's *Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution*, 2 vols. (1892). There are brief lives of Wellesley (Duke of Wellington), in the English Men of Action Series, Historical Biographies Series, and Rulers of India Series. Napier's *History of the Peninsular War* (1828–1840), which deals with Wellesley's military activity in Portugal, is a work deservedly famous, though written by a partisan. Certain aspects of it, chiefly political, are receiving new treatment at the hands of Oman, *History of the Peninsular War*, of which the first and second volumes have appeared (1902, 1903).

On the constitutional side, the work of Hallam, *The Constitutional History of England*, Vol. III, Chap. XV, to the end (death of George II), is the best. In fact, the last volume of the work is in some respects the most valuable portion. May's *Constitutional History of England*, 2 vols., 1760–1860 (1871, 3d ed. 1882), is indispensable, though rather as a book of reference than as a book to be read consecutively. The growth of the cabinet can be traced in Montague and Taswell-Langmead; but best of all is Blauvelt's *The Development of Cabinet Govern-*

ment in England (1902). For the church, see works by Overton, *Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century* (1886), and *The Non-Jurors* (1902).

For the struggle in America between the English and French, the standard work is that of Parkman, which can best be used in the abbreviated form prepared by Edgar, *The Struggle for a Continent* (1902). An admirable account of the same conflict may be found in Bradley's *Fight with France for North America* (1901). For the relations between England and France in India, the works of Malleson are useful: *History of the French in India* (1868); *Final French Struggles in India and on the Indian Seas* (1878); *The Decisive Battles of India, 1746–1849* (1883). For the significance of these conflicts, the student should read Seeley's *Expansion of England*, a very suggestive and interesting book.

On the economic and social side, probably the best general discussion is in Lecky. For a more detailed examination, see Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*. On agriculture, Prothero's *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming* is full and very interesting. Cheyney's *Introduction*, Warner's *Landmarks*, and Cunningham's *Outlines* contain useful chapters on the subject. For colonial policy, the work of Egerton, though hardly available for those unfamiliar with the subject, is a very able book. Works on literature, thought, and manners and customs in the eighteenth century are very numerous. The bibliographies in *Social England*, not always satisfactory, are especially strong and full on these points (Vol. V, pp. 170–171, 365, 513–514, 627).

CHAPTER XIII.

ERA OF REFORM, DEMOCRACY, AND EMPIRE.

343. Great Britain after the Napoleonic Wars. — For twenty-three years Great Britain had been at war, and during that time home affairs had been neglected, and the mass of her people had endured hardship and misery. On the return of peace, it became necessary to reckon up the gains and losses. Great Britain had obtained a considerable extension of colonial territory. Malta, the Ionian Islands, Heligoland, Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Ceylon, Trinidad, and Tobago had been added to her possessions. She had won an influential position in the councils of Europe, and was easily the first naval power in the world. But all these gains had been made at the expense of prosperity, reform, and progress at home. During the period of the war, scarcely one important attempt had been made, on the part of the government, to improve the condition of the British people; all its energies had been consumed in the great task of raising money to subsidize allies, to equip armies, and to build ships. Now that war was over, Great Britain had to face an enormous debt, heavy taxes, high prices, increasing pauperism, badly managed factories, crowded and ill-governed towns, and a thousand other conditions that were making the middle classes dissatisfied and the laborers sullen and rebellious.

344. The Industrial Revolution. — Since the days of Walpole, great industrial changes had taken place in England, which had been responsible alike for the vast increase in wealth and for the terrible distresses of the people. Manufacturing, which had begun in the fourteenth century, had

received a new stimulus at the end of the eighteenth century; but, although the number of industries had greatly increased, the methods were still primitive and the output was small.

Weaving of woollen and cotton goods had been carried on by workmen in their cottages, and spinning had been largely done by women and girls in their hours of leisure. In 1733 Kay invented the flying shuttle, which doubled the weaver's power of work and at once increased the demand for yarn. This demand was met in 1764, when Hargreave invented a machine for spinning, known as the spinning-jenny, worked by hand with a wheel. A little later, Arkwright improved on Hargreave's machine, and by a new method made a stronger thread. Crompton combined the inventions of Hargreave and Arkwright, and produced the "mule" in 1779. Thus spinning was advanced more rapidly than weaving, and it remained for some one to make a machine that would weave. This Cartwright did in 1785. But all machines were worked by hand, animals, or water power, until Watt perfected the steam-engine, in the period from 1760 to 1790;[1] and even then machinery and steam would have been only of limited importance, had not coal and coke been substituted for wood and charcoal, and had not improvements in the iron industry rendered that commodity more available for general use. As cheap production demands rapid distribution, it was an important event when Brindley built the first canal, in 1761, and when roads, which had been almost impassable during the eighteenth century, were constructed for the first time of layers of broken stone, a method invented by two Scottish engineers, Thomas Telford and John Macadam.

Side by side with these improvements in manufacturing went improvements in agriculture. Wet lands were drained; poor lands were transformed by manuring and fertilizing; new seeds and roots were introduced; and the breeds of animals improved in appearance, weight, and strength. Beginning

[1] Colby, No. 102.

with 1780, a new enclosure movement began, for the sole purpose of better farming.[1]

345. Effects of These Changes. — The first results of these great economic changes were discouraging. Machinery reduced the cottage laborer to penury, enclosures ruined the small farmers and drove them to the cities, the factory system took the place of domestic industry, and great landowners controlled the farms of England. New conditions began to prevail. Men and women crowded into the towns, which were badly adapted to receive them, and were lacking in police and adequate government. They labored in factories, mines, and great industrial establishments, where wages were low, hours long, and the avarice of employers imperilled body and mind.

Since the downfall of the old mercantile system, a new theory of government had arisen — known as *laissez faire*, "let alone," and this said that the government should not interfere, but should let employers and employees settle affairs among themselves. Under this system, factories and mines became death traps for the women and children who worked in them. The evil was aggravated by an abominable poor law system, which had grown up since 1795 and had set aside some of the best features of the old Elizabethan law. It pauperized the poor, trebled the expenses of the parishes, and raised enormously the number of those dependent on parish doles. Crime increased; and, as in more than two hundred different cases men were punished by hanging, society became brutalized. The tone of the law courts was low — judges browbeat the prisoners, lawyers bullied the witnesses, and the whole administration of law and justice savored of barbarism. It is difficult for us of to-day to realize the cruelty and injustice shown by men of the privileged classes toward those of the class who were without political influence, money, title, certain employment, or assurance of personal liberty or safety.

[1] Prothero, *Pioneers and Progress*, is admirable in his account of these improvements, Chaps. IV, V, VI; and on enclosures, Chap. VII.

346. Policy of the Government (1815–1820). — It is little wonder that the years immediately following the return of peace should have been characterized by agitation and unrest. Not only in England, but in France, Spain, and Italy, during the period from 1815 to 1820, the masses, dissatisfied with the repressive policy of their rulers, were forming secret societies and engaging in revolts. Kings and ministers generally were doing all in their power to preserve the peace by acts of repression.

In 1815 the Tories were in power in England, for the Whigs had become discredited because of their opposition to the war. The prime minister was Liverpool, and associated with him was Castlereagh, a very able but narrow-minded Irishman, as secretary of foreign affairs. The king, George III, an old man and at times insane, was ruling under the regency of his son, the Prince of Wales. As of old, parliament was representative only of the landowning and moneyed classes, and had little sympathy with the people, deeming them dangerous and revolutionary agitators. For five years the government did nothing to alleviate distress, and could find no better remedy than the use of force.

As is usual under such circumstances, leaders arose who did not believe in moderation or compromise, but desired *radical* changes. These men were called Radicals, and knew no other way to gain their ends than by intimidation. In 1816 a body of them met at Spa Field, near London, and made an attempt to organize a committee of public safety and to seize the Tower. The meeting was broken up by soldiers; but the frightened government had parliament suspend the Habeas Corpus Act and pass laws to prevent discussion in meetings or in the press. A series of popular movements culminated in the famous gathering at St. Peter's field, Manchester, in 1819, where fifty-thousand persons met to protest against the policy of the government.[1] The cavalry broke up the crowd and killed

[1] Colby, No. 113.

half a dozen individuals, whence the name "Massacre of Peterloo." Parliament passed the Six Acts — called the "Gag Laws" — the most important of which prohibited public meetings for the consideration of grievances. One is not surprised that in 1820 a conspiracy was formed to murder the members of the cabinet.[1]

In other respects also the government was unfortunate in its measures. In 1815 it passed the first Corn Law, which forbade the importation of foreign corn until the price should have reached eighty shillings a quarter (eight bushels); and that, too, in the face of great scarcity of corn at home. The corn law was passed in the interest of the landowners, and it increased the distress of the poor, who had no corn to sell, and who were unable to buy it on account of its high price. At the same time parliament removed the income tax. Each of these measures made more intense than before the hatred that the poor classes felt against the rich.

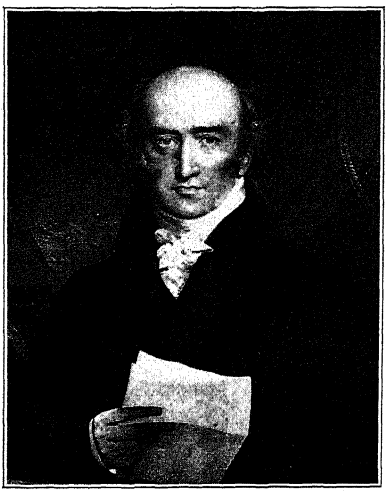
347. A Beginning of Reform. — In 1820 George III died, and his son came to the throne as George IV. In 1822 Lord Castlereagh died — a man who, in the public mind at least, was closely associated with reaction and aristocratic rule. The old king had long since ceased to be of much importance in government; but his ministers and the members of parliament had seemed unwilling to act contrary to his wishes. For George IV, however, there existed no such sentiment. By his debts, his vices, and his treatment of his queen, Caroline, he had incurred the contempt of all parties.

A new group of men now came forward, chief among whom were Canning, Huskisson, Sir John Russell, and Sir Robert Peel. In 1822, when Peel became home secretary and Canning foreign secretary in the Liverpool cabinet, the era of reform may be said to begin. These men were Tories, but moderate Tories, who had an appreciation of the needs of the country. Opposed to them in their own party were the con-

[1] The Cato Street Conspiracy.

servative Tories, who were satisfied with conditions as they were and wished no reform.

In 1823, in the interest of reform, the criminal code was made more civilized by the abolition of the death penalty for about a hundred offences. In the same year Huskisson introduced a series of far-reaching measures touching finance and commerce. Acting under his guidance, parliament reduced the customs duties on raw materials, modified the navigation acts, cut down the interest on the national debt, and made the corn law less rigid. In 1825 it permitted workingmen to form trade unions under certain conditions.



GEORGE CANNING.
From a contemporary engraving.

But most important of all was the measure granting to Roman Catholics full political rights. The emancipation of the Catholics had been a burning question for fifty years.[1] It had led to popular uprisings, known as the Gordon riots, in 1780; it had "divided, weakened, or destroyed" every government that had held office since 1800; and it was the subject upon which George III had been almost a monomaniac, so intense was his opposition to any project favoring a removal of Roman Catholic disabilities. Even now George IV was as bitter against the act as his father had been, the House of Lords was hostile to it, and the people were strongly prejudiced against it.

[1] For extracts illustrating the Catholic emancipation agitation, see Lee, Nos. 209–213; Kendall, Nos. 108, 128.

The ministry was divided: Canning was for it, Peel against it. The House of Commons only was favorable. For four years the question was agitated in parliament and out. Finally Peel, though never convinced by the arguments of his opponents, yielded, and brought forward a measure, which was passed on April 13, 1829, completing the restoration of the Roman Catholics to political rights. Wellington, equally unwilling, pushed the measure through the House of Lords. The Test Act of 1673, compelling all officials under the Crown to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the English church, had been repealed the year before; and now Roman Catholics were allowed to sit and vote in parliament, after taking a new oath framed especially for them.[1] This measure effected an important political change, in admitting a body of new and influential men into parliament. Taken in conjunction with the repeal of the Corporation Act of 1661, which had prevented Dissenters from holding office in municipalities, it took away from the established church its monopoly of certain political privileges, and raised the social as well as the political standing of both Roman Catholics and Dissenters.

348. Need of Electoral Reform. — A greater reform was yet to come. The question of extending the right to vote to the middle classes had been before the country for half a century. Thus far the obstinacy of the aristocratic and moneyed classes, the distractions of the long war with Napoleon, and the excessive demands of the Radicals, who wished universal suffrage, had combined to prevent the adoption of any measure looking toward the extension of the right to vote. But the industrial revolution, supplementing the religious revival of Wesley and Whitefield, had given new importance to the men whose industry was the chief source of British wealth and the backbone of British commerce. The American Revolution, the establishment of the republic in France, the wars that won the empire, had tended to make those without political rights

[1] Adams and Stephens, Nos. 261–262.

discontented with their position and determined to gain for themselves a share in government. Among those who led the demonstrations after 1815 were some who clamored for universal suffrage; and men like "Orator" Hunt, influenced by French Jacobin notions, made inflammatory appeals in behalf of the rights of the people.

The existing electoral system was notoriously unfair, even according to the older theory of representation. This theory declared that all men in the boroughs and the counties were represented, even though a majority of them had not the right to vote for those who represented them. Parliament was made up of one hundred and eighty-six members from forty counties, four hundred and seventy-two members from about two hundred boroughs, and five members from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. But these members were so distributed that ten southern counties had nearly as many as the thirty central and northern counties. This condition was due to the policy of past sovereigns, who had conferred the right to elect members upon villages that could be depended on to send up members favorable to the government. The boroughs of Cornwall, for example, had returned for two centuries and a half forty-four members, and this number was not decreased until 1821, when Grampound was disenfranchised.[1] Thus this under-populated county returned as many borough members, less one, as all Scotland,[2] and more by two than the densely populated counties of Durham, Northumberland, and York. The boroughs of the south had, therefore, more than their fair share of representatives, while those of the active and populous north sent fewer members to parliament than they should have done according to their population.

The borough members, thus unfairly distributed, were often not representatives at all, but nominees; that is, they were members whose election was controlled by peers, influential commoners, and the government. It is estimated that out

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 260. [2] Kendall, No. 109.

of the entire body of four hundred and seventy-two borough members only one hundred and thirty-seven were in any sense of the word elected. The others came from pocket boroughs,[1] whose representatives were named by influential individuals or families; or from rotten boroughs,[2] some of which were not boroughs at all, but were places almost uninhabited, where the right to return members was controlled by one or more property owners. Bosseney in Cornwall was a hamlet of three cottages, possessing nine electors, eight of whom belonged to one family. Yet this hamlet sent two members to parliament. Michell had five voters; Gatton, seven; Old Sarum had no voters at all. There were in Cornwall about one thousand voters and forty-two members; of the latter twenty were actually controlled by seven peers, twenty-one by eleven commoners, and only one was in any sense of the word freely elected.[3]

For a century this condition of things had prevailed. Something had been done to check bribery and corruption; but nothing whatever had been done to extend the right to vote, to make the methods of voting uniform among the towns and counties, or to give to great and growing towns, like Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield, a share in representation.

349. Events leading to the Passage of the Reform Bill of 1832.—The year 1830 was marked by a number of important events, each of which helped the cause of reform. On June 26, George IV died unmourned, and his brother, a popular and genial sailor, with fewer prejudices than his Hanoverian predecessors had possessed, came to the throne as William IV. A few weeks afterward the revolution of July broke out in Paris, drove the Bourbon king, Charles X, from the throne, and inaugurated in France a constitutional régime under Louis Philippe.

[1] A pocket borough was so called because its members were carried, as it were, in the pocket of some influential political leader.

[2] A rotten borough was one with so few electors that it ceased to constitute a borough at all.

[3] May, *Constitutional History of England*, Vol. I, Chap. VI; Courtney, *The Parliamentary Representation to Parliament in Cornwall to 1832* (1889).

In September was opened the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad, which not only exhibited a new and epoch-making method of rapid transportation, but also brought into unmistakable prominence the importance of the midland and northern regions as the industrial centres of the kingdom. And, lastly, in November, when parliament met, Wellington, in emphatic and incautious language, opposed all attempts at reform, and in so doing, not only weakened his own popularity[1] and brought to an end his career as minister, but also ruined the Tory party and made his opponents more determined and confident than ever. At once he was overthrown by a union of the discontented Tories, or Canningites, with the Whigs. His place was taken by Earl Grey, a Whig and a liberal, whose ministry was committed to the cause of electoral reform.

When, in March, 1831, Lord John Russell brought in the first reform bill, the struggle began in earnest. The first bill was defeated. Thereupon the ministry appealed to the country,[2] and a new parliament was elected. A second bill was passed, only to be rejected by the House of Lords. The excitement in the country rose to fever-heat. Even the working classes, who were not benefited by the bill, and the Radicals, who wanted a wider franchise, joined in the agitation. Associations were formed, mass-meetings held, and processions planned in London, Manchester, Birmingham, and other central and northern cities. Probably at no time in English history had excitement been so intense or so widespread. When, in December, 1831, parliament passed a third bill, the Lords did not dare reject it, fearing a popular revolt. But they tried to amend it. Earl Grey asked William IV to create enough new peers to carry the bill, but the king refused. Grey resigned. Then William IV called on Wellington to form a ministry; but the Tory party had lost its unity in the face of the popular agitation, and Wellington could do nothing. With Grey's return to office, the passage of the reform bill was

[1] Colby, No. 117; Kendall, No. 129. [2] Kendall, No. 130.


County Map of
ENGLAND
and
WALES
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FRANCE
English Channel
St. George's Channel
Bristol Channel
North Channel
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
Firth of Forth
Solway
Tyne R.
Humber R.
The Wash
R. Dee
R. Severn
ISLE OF MAN
ISLE OF WIGHT
Liverpool
Manchester
Chester
CHESHIRE
Lincoln
LINCOLN
Derby
DERBY
Nottingham
Stafford
STAFFORD
Leicester
NORFOLK
Norwich
SUFFOLK
Ipswich
Cambridge
Birmingham
Warwick
WARWICK
Worcester
Hereford
Gloucester
GLOUCESTER
Oxford
OXFORD
ESSEX
London
Bristol
Bath
WILTS
SOMERSET
Cardiff
Exeter
Plymouth
Falmouth
Dorchester
Southampton
Brighton
SURREY
KENT
Dover
SUSSEX
HANTS
DEVON
CORNWALL
DORSET
Aberystwith
Cardigan
Carmarthen
Pembroke
Denbigh
Caernarvon
Anglesey
Montgomery
SALOP
Longitude West 2° from Greenwich 0° East

assured. The Lords, at the king's special request, withdrew their opposition, and on June 7, 1832, the measure became law.[1]

350. The Reform Act of 1832. The Reform Act, the most important measure of its kind in English history, gave the franchise to the middle classes. By placing a property qualification on the right to vote, it denied that right to the industrial, agricultural, and mining classes. The actual number of voters was increased from four hundred and thirty thousand to six hundred and fifty thousand; that is, one in every twenty-two of the population became an elector. The qualification was for the first time made uniform throughout Great Britain. The franchise was given in the counties to all copyholders and leaseholders (farmers and tenants) of land worth £10 a year, and to tenants-at-will holding an estate worth £50 a year; and in the boroughs to all holders of houses worth £10 a year. Voting methods were vastly improved by a system of registration, by the adoption of smaller voting districts, and by the fixing of a time limit of two days within which the vote must be cast.

Equally important with this enlargement of the voting body, was the redistribution of seats in parliament. Fifty-six boroughs were deprived of their members, and thirty-two had their membership reduced. Of the one hundred and forty-three seats thus gained sixty-five were given to the English counties, eight to the Scottish, and five to the Irish; forty-four were given to twenty-two towns like Manchester and Birmingham; and twenty-one to smaller towns hitherto unrepresented. This redistribution increased enormously the importance of the central and northern counties and boroughs. Thus the House of Commons became, as it had never been before, an elective and representative body; and public opinion, hitherto of indirect influence only, became a factor of direct importance in the future government of the kingdom.

[1] Lee, Nos. 218–220. For the text of the act, Adams and Stephens, No. 263; Colby, No. 116.

351. Further Reforms under the New System.—Great interest naturally centred in the new body elected under the Reform Act in the autumn of 1832, and, as was to have been expected, the new voters sent up a large majority for the Whig ministers. The old Whig party, now counting the Radicals among their numbers, took the name Liberals, and the Tories, realizing the great unpopularity of their party name, began to call themselves the Conservatives. Perhaps the most interesting case of membership in the new body was that of William Ewart Gladstone. Gladstone began his long career of sixty years in parliament as a Tory, representing one of the few remaining pocket boroughs controlled by the duke of Newcastle.

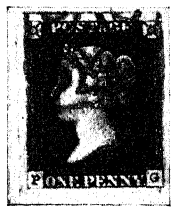
This victory of the Liberals ushered in a series of remarkable reforms that began the social and administrative regeneration of England. Greatest from the humanitarian point of view was the abolition of slavery. In 1807 the slave trade had been done away with in the British colonies;[1] and in consequence the condition of the planters in the West Indies had steadily deteriorated. The fact that slavery had ceased to be profitable rendered it easier for the teachings of Wilberforce, Clarkson, and others to be embodied in law; and in 1833 the whole system, as far as Great Britain was concerned, was abolished.[2] The government appropriated £20,000,000 to compensate slave owners for their losses and allowed them in the way of service three-fourths of the slave's time for twelve years. The compensation was inadequate, as the losses of the slave owners amounted to about £50,000,000, while the service arrangement proved to be of little value. In the same year a bill which was passed for the relief of children in factories began the history of factory legislation.

Equally important were the great administrative reforms which substituted order and system for the confusion and inefficiency that had hitherto characterized methods of local

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 259; Lee, No. 217.

[2] Adams and Stephens, No. 264; Colby, No. 103.

government. In 1834 an amendment to the poor law thoroughly revised an unfortunate measure of 1795, which had overburdened the parishes and increased the number of paupers. Control of the poor was taken away from the parish and given to a group of parishes called the Union, which elected a board of men entirely independent of the old justices of the peace. This act deprived the parish of its last important function and the local aristocracy of an important duty. In 1835 came the Municipal Corporations Act, which created a uniform system of government for the corporate towns of Great Britain, abolished the system of government in the hands of a few men, which had prevailed up to this time, and provided for popular control by the tax-payers. This reform of the municipalities was followed more than fifty years afterward by the reform of the counties in 1888 and of the parishes in 1894. In 1836 registration of births, marriages, and deaths was taken out of the hands of the church and given to a new body of government officials. In 1833 the government undertook to extend education, chiefly among the poor, by a grant of £20,000 for private schools. This attempt to encourage education was the first in a long series of measures organizing a public school system in Great Britain.



FIRST ADHESIVE POSTAGE STAMP. The stamp is black, the cancellation mark red. So well was the design executed that it was retained for more than thirty years, though after 1840 the stamp was printed in red and the cancellation mark in black.

Many minor reforms were carried through. Prisons and asylums were improved; whipping posts and pillories were abolished; the postal service was simplified and extended; postage stamps were introduced in 1840, and postage was reduced to a penny, that is, two cents. In 1836 the stamp duty on newspapers was lowered; in 1855 it was got rid of altogether, and in consequence the circulation of newspapers increased enormously, and many new papers were established.

352. Accession of Queen Victoria. — In 1837 William IV died, and the next heir to the throne was his niece, Victoria, the

daughter of the duke of Kent, at this time but eighteen years of age. To her long reign of nearly sixty-four years has been fitly given the name of the Victorian Era. Though many of the measures that began the transformation of "Old England" had already been adopted, yet their application and extension coincided with the life of the queen. The Victorian Era, therefore, was a period of transition, during which Great Britain and the British empire of to-day were created. That Great Britain was able to pass through this great period of her history without serious drawback or disturbance is in no small degree due to Queen Victoria. Her personality, her high regard for all that was right and honorable, her example as a wife and mother, her rigid respect for all constitutional forms, and her conscientious performance of her duties as sovereign rendered her a factor of unmistakable influence in the life and government of the British people. Trained and guided during her early years by the Whig minister, Lord Melbourne, and afterward (1840–1861), aided and advised by her husband, Albert of Saxe-Coburg, the prince consort, she developed a remarkable knowledge of the principles and practices of constitutional government, and displayed a judgment in the exercise of the royal prerogatives that was rare in a British sovereign.

353. General Character of the Victorian Era. — Under Queen Victoria the growth of democracy, the improvement of social and economic conditions, and the expansion of the kingdom into the empire went steadily on. Cabinet government became firmly established; the extension of the suffrage, desired by the Radicals and the Chartists, was finally effected; free trade was introduced; the Irish question entered a new phase under new and able leaders; the growth of commerce brought Great Britain into contact with the far East, and the possession of India and the trade routes thither quickened the rivalry with Russia and complicated foreign diplomacy; increase in the size and importance of the colonies led to the adoption of a new colonial policy and eventually to the great issue of colonial federation; while in matters of legislation at home, the safety,

welfare, and happiness of the middle and working classes gained an ever increasing amount of attention. As the years went on, Great Britain withdrew more and more from Continental affairs. With the accession of Victoria, Hanover was separated from the English crown and given to Ernest Augustus, the youngest son of George III. Thus Great Britain was saved from all entanglement in German politics, and from all responsibility for Hanover during the great wars of 1866 and 1870, whereby German unity was effected.

354. General Survey of Parties and Ministers under Victoria.— The Whig ministry of Lord Melbourne was in office when Victoria came to the throne, and, in the main, the Whigs or Liberals remained the leading party till 1874. The Conservatives won in the elections of 1841, and Peel was prime minister till 1846. His advocacy of free trade, however, divided the Conservative party into the protectionist or old Conservatives, led by Derby and Disraeli, and the free trade or liberal Conservatives, led by Aberdeen and Gladstone. This break in the party gave power into the hands of the Liberals, under Lord John Russell, in 1847; but disputes between Russell and Palmerston, the foreign minister, weakened their control, and in 1852 the Conservatives returned to power for a brief space, with Derby as the head of the government. In 1853, however, the free trade Conservatives joined the Liberals, overthrew Derby, and placed in power a Liberal ministry under Aberdeen. This government remained in control till 1855, when Aberdeen resigned, owing to the discontent aroused by his unsatisfactory conduct of the Crimean war, and Palmerston took his place with another Liberal ministry. Foreign troubles drove Palmerston from office, and a short Derby-Disraeli ministry marked the supremacy of the Conservatives in 1858–1859. Palmerston regained power in 1859 and retained it till his death in 1865, when Russell became minister for a year. With the alternating ministries, first of Disraeli (1866–1868, 1875–1880) and Gladstone (1869–1874, 1880–1885), then of Gladstone (January-July, 1886, 1892–1894), Rosebery (1894–1895) and Salisbury (1885–1886, 1886–1892, 1895–

1902), a new party era began, and new issues and new programmes came to the front.

After 1841, cabinet and parliamentary government became firmly established.[1] The queen gave up all right of appointing ministries and always selected the man who could command a majority in the House of Commons. She demanded, however, that her ministers keep her fully informed of all that was being done, and that they should not change a measure after it had received the royal sanction. The rise of the prime minister within the cabinet gave unity to the entire cabinet, which thenceforth was invariably selected from one party and always resigned as a whole when the majority was against it. When supported by a majority in the House of Commons, the ministry wielded practically absolute power, and the prime minister was the head of the government.

355. The Chartist Movement. — The leaders of the Liberals, convinced that reform had proceeded far enough, had no intention of altering further the composition of the House of Commons, or of extending further the right to vote. But the Radicals deemed the reform of 1832 only a stepping stone to universal suffrage. When they found that the government would do nothing for them, they began a series of demonstrations, not as dangerous probably as those that followed the year 1816, but more spectacular.

This agitation is known as the Chartist movement, because those engaged in it presented their claims in the form of a charter. It began in 1837, the year of Victoria's accession, when the House of Commons, by a vote of five hundred to twenty-two, refused to consider further electoral reform. The Radicals, in alliance with the workingmen, who believed that

[1] The last attempt of the crown to resist the will of the cabinet was in 1839, when Queen Victoria refused to change the ladies of the bedchamber to suit the complexion of the new Peel ministry. Therefore Peel refused to continue in office. When, in 1841, the Whigs again suffered defeat and Peel formed a new ministry, the queen yielded the point, and the ladies of the bedchamber were selected from Conservative families.

an extension of the right to vote would relieve their misery, organized meetings and processions, and presented to parliament a great petition,[1] which embodied their demands. This charter demanded the following six points: (1) universal suffrage; (2) secret ballot; (3) pay for representatives; (4) abolition of property qualifications; (5) annual elections; and (6) better distribution of parliamentary seats throughout the country. Three times were petitions drawn up, signed by thousands of people, and presented to parliament amid great excitement. The first was presented in 1837–1839; the second in 1842, when the agitation, increased by labor troubles, reached its height; and the third in 1848, when the revolution of that year in France aroused the Chartists to make one more attempt to obtain what they desired.[2]

The Chartists did not form a society, or create an organization of any kind. The leaders found support among the people, because of the hopeless despair and misery that prevailed throughout England. The movement came to nothing, for the great mass of the English people were not ready for the changes that the Radicals demanded, and the conservative classes did not like the methods that the Radicals employed. The agitation was, in a sense, preliminary to the reform movements of 1867 and 1884, at both of which times some of the most important of the points mentioned above were granted by law.

356. Free Trade: Repeal of the Corn Laws.—Behind the Chartist movement lay the discontent of the working classes, who saw in the protective system the reason why rents and prices were high. They wanted the repeal of customs duties, notably that on corn (wheat), which made bread dear. To the same end worked a group of men composing the free trade party, led by Richard Cobden, a Manchester cotton merchant, and John

[1] Kendall, No. 131.

[2] Lee, Nos. 221–223. For the earlier stages in the Chartist movement, see an article in the *English Historical Review*, 1889, pp. 625–644.

Bright, the orator of the movement. In 1838 this party began a vigorous campaign for the repeal of the corn laws,[1] and were so far successful as to win over to their cause Peel, prime minister and the head of the Conservatives. Peel, in the matter of free trade, as in that of Roman Catholic emancipation, was not convinced, but yielded, believing the poverty in England and the famine in Ireland could both be traced to the system of protection.



RICHARD COBDEN.
From an engraving.

Peel began his free trade career by abolishing in 1842 all remaining export duties, and by reducing import duties on seven hundred and fifty articles consumed in Great Britain. He made up the loss in revenue by reëstablishing the tax on all incomes of £150 and over. In the same year, turning his attention to the corn laws, he forced his party to reduce the duty on wheat. It was agreed that the duty on foreign wheat should rise or fall according to the price of wheat at home —that is, that the duty should increase when the price of home wheat fell and decrease when it rose. This arrangement was known as the "sliding scale." But during the four years that followed the adoption of this system, bad harvests in Great Britain and a terrible potato famine in Ireland made Peel consider the advisability of abolishing altogether the duty on wheat. In 1845 the Whig minister, Lord John Russell, announced his conversion to free trade in wheat.

[1] Kendall, No. 135.

Peel, counting on the support of the Whigs and of a certain number of his own followers, introduced in 1846 a measure repealing the corn laws. The measure was passed, though more than two hundred Conservatives voted against it.[1]

In securing the passage of the bill, the manufacturing classes secured a victory over the landowning classes, and endangered the future of wheat-growing in England. The serious effects of the measure did not become evident until the competition with American wheat began, twenty years later. The free trade issue destroyed the unity of the Conservative party, and eventually drove the followers of Peel, Gladstone among the number, over to the side of the Liberals, and gave to the Liberals almost unbroken supremacy for thirty years. Not until 1874 was Disraeli able to organize a new Conservative party, and to obtain for it the first clear majority in parliament that it had had since 1842.



JOHN BRIGHT.
From an engraving.

357. Early Struggles for Home Rule in Ireland. — The third great agitation of the first decade of Queen Victoria's reign was that of the Irish, who wished for redress of grievances and a parliament separate from that of Great Britain. The leader of the movement was Daniel O'Connell, who, as early as 1828, had begun the campaign for Catholic emancipation.[2]

[1] Lee, No. 224; Kendall, No. 136.

[2] Colby, No. 115; Kendall, No. 128. See above, § 347.

Encouraged by the victory of 1829, O'Connell took up the question of the tithe system, whereby the Roman Catholic peasantry were compelled to pay tithes for the support of the established church in Ireland. The "Tithe War" lasted for six years (1832–1838), and during that time the peasants refused to pay tithes. Parliament attempted coercion in 1833, and wretched scenes of rioting and outrage followed. Local agitation failing, O'Connell tried parliamentary tactics; and, with his followers in parliament, known as O'Connell's Tail, joined the Liberals in 1835. This policy succeeded; and, in 1838, the tithe system was abolished.

But a greater issue, that of home rule, lay ahead. O'Connell continued the agitation, and thrilled his countrymen with promises of a parliament for Ireland. The movement reached its height in 1843. A "Young Ireland" party was formed, and enormous mass-meetings were held, where angry and seditious words were spoken. But O'Connell, though a demagogue, was not a law-breaker; and, when the government forbade the Irish to bear arms and ordered their meetings to disperse, he yielded, and declared that he would not lead an Irish revolt. This determination to resort only to peaceful methods, though in the highest degree honorable, undoubtedly hurt his cause with the Irish, and from that time his power over his people began to decline. He was arrested by the British government, and convicted for sedition; but eventually the sentence was set aside. In 1846, broken in health and spirits, he withdrew from the struggle, and the whole Irish movement collapsed. It was revived for a moment in 1848 by the members of "Young Ireland," who were led by Smith O'Brien; but it was effectually suppressed by force of arms, and numbers of the leaders were arrested and transported to the penal colonies. For nearly twenty years the Irish people remained quiet, suffering hunger[1] and poverty, and constantly liable to eviction at the hands of absentee landlords.

[1] For a description of the great famine of 1847, see Kendall, No. 137.

358. Foreign Policy (1830–1850).—During these years, Great Britain, chiefly by means of diplomacy, played an important part in foreign affairs, her purpose being to preserve the peace of Europe, which had lasted since 1815. With the other powers, she aided in settling dynastic difficulties in Spain and Portugal, and in compelling a revolting Egyptian pasha, Mehemet Ali, to withdraw from an attempt to break up the Ottoman empire. On two occasions she avoided difficulties with France, which, for a time, seemed to threaten their peaceful relations. She made two boundary treaties with the United States, one settling the Maine boundary in 1842, the other the northwestern or Oregon frontier in 1846; and, in 1850, signed a treaty, known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, dealing with the construction of a ship canal across Central America.[1]

In the year 1848, a new revolution broke out in France, which ended in the abdication of Louis Philippe and the establishment of the second French republic. The success of this revolution roused the people of Italy, Austria, Prussia, and the lesser German states to make one more effort to win constitutions, and to obtain for themselves a share in government. Great Britain was not seriously affected by this widespread and at first largely successful movement. Only the Chartists and the Irish renewed their agitations. After the revolution of 1848–1849 had been suppressed by force of arms, Great Britain took part in certain of the diplomatic conferences that followed. One notable outcome of these negotiations was the arrangement made in London, in 1850 and 1852, whereby Great Britain, France, and Russia guaranteed the integrity, and settled the royal succession, of Denmark, which had been threatened by the revolt of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.

359. Great Britain in 1851.—The year 1851 seemed to usher in a golden age of peace. Free trade had been extended by the repeal of the navigation acts in 1849; material pros-

[1] MacDonald, *Select Documents*, No. 77.

perity had been promoted by a rapid increase in commerce; pauperism had been checked by the new poor laws; drunkenness had been diminished perceptibly by the efforts of the total abstinence societies, the sanitary condition of the towns improved by a series of public health measures, and crime lessened by the establishment of a police system and by the decrease of pauperism and drunkenness. A spiritual awakening had followed a series of new religious movements, of which the Tractarian, or Oxford movement, was the most important. Literature took a practical turn: Macaulay defended the rule of the middle-class Whigs, in his *History of England* (1848); Grote glorified the cause of democracy, in his *History of Greece* (1846–1856); Dickens, in *Pickwick Papers* (1837), and Thackeray, in *Vanity Fair* (1847–1848), breaking away from the romanticism of Scott, portrayed vividly the life of the upper and lower classes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; while Carlyle, in *Sartor Resartus* (1833–1834), and Tennyson, in *In Memoriam* (1850), struck a new note of sincerity and duty. A great industrial exhibition promoted by the Prince Consort in 1851 seemed to inaugurate an era of peaceful commercial intercourse with all the world.

But the era of peace had not yet come. Great issues had yet to be settled, both in Europe and America, before this happy result could be attained. Italy, Germany, and the United States were to engage in wars, in behalf of their national unity, before they could enter on their career as peaceful commercial and industrial states. With these wars Great Britain had but little to do. She was involved in no struggle of her own in behalf of national unity and constitutional government; for she had already solved those problems peacefully for herself. Her concern was rather with commerce, trade routes, and her territory in India; and before Italy, America, and Germany began their struggles for consolidation and unity, Great Britain had been drawn into wars and disasters that were largely the outcome of her commercial expansion.

360. The Crimean War. — In 1850 a small event in Palestine opened the whole Eastern question, that is, the question of the relations between Russia and Turkey. Greek and Roman monks quarrelled over the control of certain sacred places in the Holy Land. The Czar, who was the head of the Greek church, took up the cause of the Greek Christians, and Louis Napoleon, who had been elected president of the French Republic in 1848, championed the cause of the Roman Catholics. The difficulty was insignificant in itself, but became serious when the Czar demanded of the Sultan the right to act as the protector of all the Greek Christians in the Ottoman empire. Great Britain suspected that the Czar's purpose was to bring about the partition of Turkey among the powers, in order that he himself might seize Constantinople. Such an act would have been contrary to British policy, which demanded that the Ottoman Empire remain as it was. When, therefore, in 1853, Czar Nicholas declared war against Turkey, sent troops into her territory, and destroyed a Turkish fleet at Sinope in the Black Sea (November 4), the British people rose in wrath and indignation and demanded of the Aberdeen ministry war for the punishment of the Russian despot.

There were two reasons for this demand: in the first place, statesmen and people alike believed that if Russia seized Constantinople, the British route to India would be cut off, and their possessions in India threatened with attack; in the second place, the British people looked on the Czar Nicholas as a despot, and deemed him responsible for the failure of the Hungarian struggle for independence and the revolution of 1848–1849 in general. They desired not only to weaken his power, but actually to humiliate him. Louis Napoleon, crowned Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, in 1852, also wanted war to render his throne secure at home and to win glory abroad. British suspicion and hatred of Russia forced Aberdeen, against his will, to join with Napoleon in a declaration of war, March, 1854. Troops were despatched to the Dardanelles; but before any actual fighting took place, the Czar, at

the request of Austria, whom he wished to keep neutral, withdrew his troops from Turkish territory. This act did not, however, satisfy the British people. They desired that the Czar should be humbled and that Russia should suffer as she had made others suffer. Therefore an attack on the great fortress of Sebastopol in the Crimea was planned; and in September, 1854, the Crimean war was begun.

This great duel, between Russia on one side, and England, France, Turkey, and eventually Sardinia on the other, lasted for a year. Meanwhile a congress of diplomats at Vienna tried to settle matters peacefully, but without the slightest success. At the battle of the Alma, September 30, 1854, the allies won a bloody victory; and in November, the battles of Balaklava[1] and Inkerman were fought. These engagements were indecisive, and the allies in December settled down to a regular siege. The winter of 1854 and 1855 was a time of misery, suffering, and death for British and French soldiers alike, due to insufficient food, bad housing, epidemics, and poor hospital service. In England popular wrath at the inefficiency of the government drove Aberdeen from the ministry (1855).[2] His successor, Palmerston, pushed the war with vigor, and finally, after careful preparations and many assaults, Sebastopol was taken, on September 5, 1855. The death of Nicholas I, the February before, made easier the attainment of peace. Palmerston and the British people, having made their preparations for a continuation of the war, were loath to bring the struggle to a close; but the other powers were tired of the useless conflict and believed that Russia had suffered enough. In January, 1856, peace was agreed upon; and in April, at the Congress of Paris, the final treaty was signed.

Great Britain gained little from the Crimean war except experience; but she had the satisfaction of seeing the diplomats at Paris declare the Ottoman empire a European power in good standing, and pledge themselves to maintain its

[1] Kendall, No. 140. [2] Kendall, No. 141.

integrity. In failing to reserve the right to interfere for the purpose of compelling the Sultan to carry out his promises, the powers committed one of the greatest diplomatic blunders in history. The battles of the war form a brilliant page in Great Britain's military annals; but the negotiations that followed were not creditable to her diplomats. After 1856, Great Britain lost influence in the councils of Europe and withdrew more and more from Continental affairs.

361. India and the Great Mutiny. — If the route to India had been really threatened by the Czar, the war might well have been worth what it cost; for India was rapidly becoming one of Great Britain's greatest possessions. Since the days of Wellesley, the conquest of India had gone steadily on. The marquis of Hastings had completed Wellesley's work by extending the powers of the East India Company and bringing to an end the wars with the native tribes. In 1813 the company's monopoly of the Indian trade had been taken away, and in 1833, when its charter was renewed, the monopoly of trade with China was abolished. This new arrangement limited the business of the company to matters of administration and greatly improved its rule. In 1841 and 1842 the British invaded Afghanistan, only to retreat ignominiously after losing a large part of their force. After this experience, British governor-generals let Afghanistan alone and contented themselves with smaller gains. Scinde was annexed in 1842; after two fiercely contested wars, in 1848 and 1849, the Punjab was won from the Sikhs, who, under the tactful administration of Henry and John Lawrence, became in the end faithful subjects of Great Britain.

The appointment of Lord Dalhousie as governor-general in 1849 marked the introduction of an unfortunate policy. Dalhousie annexed vassal states and forced upon them British methods of administration and law without regard for native customs and prejudices. In consequence there was a widespread discontent, and a vast deal of intriguing and conspiracy among the native princes and native troops, upon whom the

power of the East India Company largely depended. Only a direct and special grievance was wanting to change this discontent into open revolt.

The introduction of a cartridge greased, as was believed, with cow's or pig's fat, was interpreted as an attempt of the British to deprive the native soldiers of their caste. In biting the cartridge, Mohammedans, to whom swine were unholy, deemed themselves defiled; and Hindoos, to whom the cow was sacred, deemed themselves guilty of sacrilege. In 1857 the Sepoy regiments of Calcutta and Delhi revolted, and soon most of northern India was aflame. British officers were shot, women and children massacred, and barracks and quarters destroyed. The slaughter at Cawnpore (July, 1857) was only the worst of many tragedies. The siege of Delhi (June–September, 1857), the defence and relief of Lucknow (September–November, 1857),[1] the second capture of Lucknow (March, 1858), and the final defeat of the rebels (June, 1858), are the chief events in a great struggle which created such heroes as John Lawrence, John Nicholson, Havelock, Outram, and Colin Campbell. After the mutiny was suppressed, parliament abolished the East India Company, and India was taken under the control of the British government.[2]

362. Great Britain in the Far East: Relations with China. — Growing trade had brought the East India Company into contact with independent peoples on the borders of India. There had been petty quarrels with Persia and Burma; but most serious of all were the troubles with China, an empire which had always refused, as far as possible, to have any dealings with the outside world. A limited trade, controlled entirely by the East India Company, had sprung up with China; and after the withdrawal of the monopoly, in 1833, this trade had been thrown open to all. The result was a rapid increase of smuggling, particularly in opium, the importation of which into China was rigidly forbidden. Attempts of Chinese offi-

[1] Kendall, No. 143. [2] Kendall, No. 144; Lee, No. 231.

cials to enforce this regulation had led to high-handed measures on both sides, which gradually brought on the Opium War of 1839–1842. This war was dishonorable to Great Britain on whatever pretence defended, but it brought about the overthrow of China's policy of isolation. The treaty of Nanking (1842) threw open five Chinese ports to British trade and ceded Hongkong to Great Britain; and it gave the British a foothold in China long before other nations had thought of concerning themselves with affairs in the Pacific. British influence, notably in the Yang-tse region, was increased during the years 1857–1860, by another war in which Great Britain and France joined for the purpose of demanding reparation from China for so-called deeds of aggression and violations of treaty rights. The treaty of Tientsin (1860) opened additional ports to the British. About the same time Japan began to admit the commerce of a few nations to her ports, and in so doing created a new market for British goods.

363. Great Britain and her Colonies.— While British companies and merchants were thus extending British trade in the East, British colonists were building up important settlements in other parts of the world. Colonization in British America, Canada, and the West Indies had been going on for two centuries; but colonization in West Africa and at The Cape, and in Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, and other islands in the Indian and Pacific oceans, was new. As yet, however, colonies and colonists had not begun to play their great part in British history.

Canada and the West Indies, oldest of the colonies remaining to Great Britain in America, had both suffered from bad management. A rebellion in Canada in 1837 and 1838 had disclosed deep discontent among the French inhabitants there. In consequence, in 1840, upper and lower Canada were united, and the government was somewhat reorganized. Gradually, during the years that followed, responsible government and colonial control of expenditures were granted to the Canadians, — a new policy which culminated in the creation of modern Canada by

the Act of 1867. This act joined all the Canadian provinces except Newfoundland into the single "Dominion of Canada," with a single constitution for all. In the West Indies the emancipation of the slaves, the inadequate compensation to slave owners, and the introduction of free trade had aroused resentment, which in Jamaica took the form of protest in 1836 and of revolt in 1865. Free trade was opposed by West India planters because it opened the British market to the commerce of other colonies, and so destroyed their monopoly.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the colonies in Africa and the Pacific were deemed by British statesmen useless and expensive possessions, from which little profit could be obtained. Australia had been employed at first as a convenient place for transporting criminals;[1] but when systematic colonization began, about 1830, in Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, and The Cape, questions of convicts, squatters, land sales, emigrants, and the relations with native Maoris and the Dutch Boers engaged the attention of parliament. Government in these distant lands was at first largely military, and when a regular civil administration was introduced, everything was managed by orders sent from the government offices in Downing Street, London. Such a method was bound to result in many mistakes and failures, for little real knowledge of the needs of the colonists could be possessed by government officials many thousand miles away.

The policy of government by orders from England gave way, soon after 1830, to another, based on the Whig doctrine of letting the colonies alone (*laissez faire*). Statesmen began to advocate the plan of granting to the colonies responsible government, with the right to manage their own waste lands and finance and to conduct their own military defence. The reorganization of Canada in 1840 was in the main an application of the "let alone" policy. The introduction of representative institutions in Australia began with New South Wales and

[1] Lee, No. 226.

South Australia in 1842, and was carried well forward by a great constitutional act in 1850.[1] New Zealand received attention in 1846 and again in 1851. To many British statesmen these measures seemed to foreshadow eventual separation of the colonies from the mother country. Some writers of the time thought that such a result would be a blessing; but others, with more foresight, believed that colonial self-government was not inconsistent with loyal attachment to Great Britain. The faith of the latter was to find ample justification later, when, after 1880, the idea of a union of mother country and colonies in a great federal empire began to take hold of men's thoughts and to shape the policy of the government.

364. Great Britain's Foreign Policy: The Trent Affair and the Alabama Case. — Great Britain could not keep entirely free from Continental and American affairs. When the Polish insurrection broke out, in 1863, Lord John Russell, foreign minister in Palmerston's cabinet, upheld the cause of the Poles, but refused to join Napoleon III in a war in their behalf with Russia. Russell also defended the integrity of Denmark, when in 1864 Bismarck made war on that kingdom and compelled the king, Christian IX, to renounce his right over the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. After Palmerston's death, in 1865, Great Britain remained absolutely neutral during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–1871.

Relations with America were more serious. The Civil War stirred the British people deeply, and the opinions and sympathies of statesmen and people alike were much divided. In the main the upper classes and government officials, even Gladstone among the number, upheld the cause of the South,[2] while the working classes and radical leaders, like John Bright, who hated slavery, were almost to a man in sympathy with the North. Russell refused to join with Napoleon III in

[1] For the discovery of gold in Australia, see Lee, Nos. 227, 228.

[2] Compare the well-known poem in *Punch*, printed in Kendall, No. 146. The cartoons in *Punch* and the articles in the London *Times* stirred up a great deal of bitter feeling in the North against Great Britain.

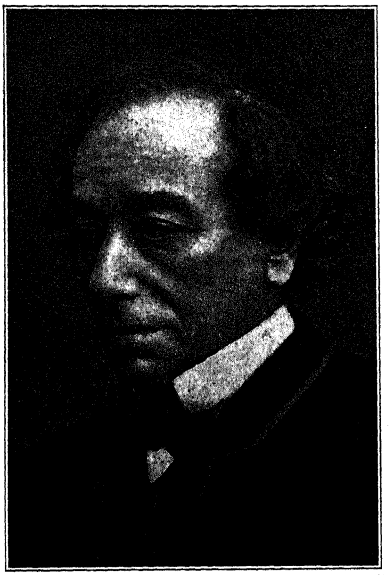
recognizing the Southern States, but came very near going to war in what is known as the Trent Affair.[1] In 1861 the Confederate government had sent two Southerners, Mason and Slidell, on an English mail steamer, *The Trent*, to seek aid abroad. Captain Wilkes of the United States navy stopped the steamer and took off the envoys. Great Britain, on the ground that the right to search neutral vessels in time of war had been given up by the European powers at the Congress of Paris, in 1856, demanded the surrender of the commissioners. The United States had not been represented at the Congress of Paris, and many in the North were inclined to resist Great Britain's demand. But President Lincoln declared that the United States had always opposed the right of search; and the queen and the prince consort threw their influence on the side of peace. The United States surrendered the commissioners and the crisis was safely passed.

Lord John Russell was strangely negligent in allowing the Confederate government to fit out in English ports a number of cruisers, of which the chief was the *Alabama*, and to send them out to prey on the commerce of the North. For this indiscretion England was compelled to pay $15,500,000 in 1871. The sympathy of the working class with the Northern cause was the more remarkable in that the Northern blockade of Southern ports brought on a cotton famine in Lancashire that caused terrible distress among the employees of the cotton mills, and affected workmen in other trades also. Yet their abhorrence of slavery outweighed their personal discomfort, and their noble self-sacrifice without doubt influenced the government, always susceptible to public opinion, to preserve strict neutrality.

365. New Parties and New Issues. — The working classes were growing in importance and influence. Their material condition was improving; and they had not only begun to band together in trade unions and federations, but were holding

[1] Kendall, No. 145.

congresses to discuss questions relating to themselves and their welfare. They began to agitate for legislation in their own behalf, and continued the work of the Chartists, but by entirely different methods. They saw that their first efforts must be directed to the great task of obtaining the right to vote. As long, however, as Palmerston lived and the old Liberals were in control, little was to be expected. The old Liberals disliked the Radicals, and were satisfied with the results of the reform of 1832, a fact that was proved in 1859 and again in 1860, when reform measures were definitely rejected by the House of Commons.



BENJAMIN DISRAELI (Earl of Beaconsfield).
From a photograph.

After Palmerston's death in 1865, new ideas and influences began to prevail, and a new Liberal party to come to the front. This party, whose leader was Gladstone, adopted in part the doctrines of the Radicals, and, discarding the old idea of *laissez faire*, began to advocate a wider suffrage and new legislation for the improvement of the masses. The cry was "peace, retrenchment, and reform." Side by side with the new liberalism went a new conservatism, the chief exponent of which was Disraeli. The members of the new Conservative party laid more stress upon legislation for the people than upon the extension of the suffrage; that is, they believed in government for the people rather than by the people. They believed in a moderate extension of the suffrage, but held that legislative power should be in

the hands of educated and wealthy men. Their leading articles of political faith were a firm foreign policy, an extension of British territory in all parts of the world, and a federation of all the colonies in a great British empire. This policy differed from that of the Liberals in that it entailed, not peace, but war; not retrenchment, but heavy expenditures on army and navy; not legislation shaped only for the United Kingdom, but legislation for the greater Britain at home and beyond the seas.

366. The Second Reform Bill.—Now that both parties favored an extension of the franchise, electoral reform could not long be delayed. The high-minded sacrifices of the Lancashire employees, the victory of the North in the Civil War in America, and the manner in which a victorious democratic government had dealt with the conquered South, disbanded its army, and returned to the ways of peace; meetings of London workingmen in Hyde Park and other meetings held in the great cities of the centre and north, at which the right to vote was demanded,—all these events influenced the policy of parties. In 1866 the Russell-Gladstone ministry brought in a reform bill, but it was defeated by a party of old Liberals, known as the Adullamites, who opposed electoral reform. The Derby-Disraeli ministry that followed introduced another bill, because it desired to show the working classes that, after all, the Conservatives were their best friends. This measure, after many amendments, was passed in August, 1867.

This reform bill of 1867 granted a suffrage that was far from universal. It reduced the property qualification in the boroughs to the payment of taxes; that is, it gave the right to vote to *all* householders instead of, as formerly, only to those who occupied houses worth £10 a year. It also allowed all lodgers to vote who had resided for a year in the borough and occupied rooms renting for at least £10 a year unfurnished. Thus the boroughs were greatly benefited by the bill. The counties were not so favored. The only change that was made in them was the reduction of the property qualification of

the tenant-at-will from £50 to £12. Seats in parliament were redistributed, though in this particular the reform was very incomplete. Eleven boroughs lost their seats and thirty-five more were reduced from two members to one each. Of the fifty-eight seats thus gained, nineteen were given to English boroughs, thirty to English counties, and nine to Scotland. The reform gave the franchise for the first time to the workingmen of the cities, and so destroyed the supremacy of the middle classes, who had been in control since 1832. Though agricultural laborers and miners were still denied the right to vote, England became in large part a democratic state.

367. The First Reform Ministry of Gladstone. — Dissolution of parliament in 1868 was followed by new elections under the reform act of 1867. The great change that had come over Great Britain at once became manifest. New voters appeared, elections were contested as they never had been before, and electors scanned carefully the legislative programmes of the two parties. The new Liberals — Liberals and Radicals — won by a majority of one hundred and twenty, and Gladstone at once formed a ministry committed to an important programme of reform.



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.
From an engraving.

The first measures that were introduced concerned Ireland. From 1865 to 1868 the Irish people had been engaged in a struggle, known as the Fenian movement, for separation from England. Many Fenians, members of an Irish secret society, had been arrested, and three hanged for murder. In

a speech in Lancashire, Gladstone said that the Irish upas tree had three branches: the established church, the system of land tenure, and the system of national education. The first and second of these evils he attacked immediately. In July, 1869, after a long and wearisome struggle, parliament passed a bill disestablishing the Irish state church. In May, 1870, it passed an Irish land bill, which was designed to protect tenants from eviction as long as they paid their rent and to compel landlords to compensate evicted tenants for improvements made; the bill also provided for government loans for the purchase of tenancies, the loan to be paid back to the government by the tenant in annual instalments.

After the Irish measures had been passed, Forster, acting minister of education, brought in a bill for the national control of elementary education. The bill was finally passed, August 9, 1870, and provided for a system of local schools for children. Though private schools still existed, this act established public schools in the districts, and required that under certain conditions children between five and twelve years of age should be obliged to attend. The next year the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were thrown open to Roman Catholics and Dissenters alike, by the abolition of all religious tests. These measures proved very beneficial to education in England.

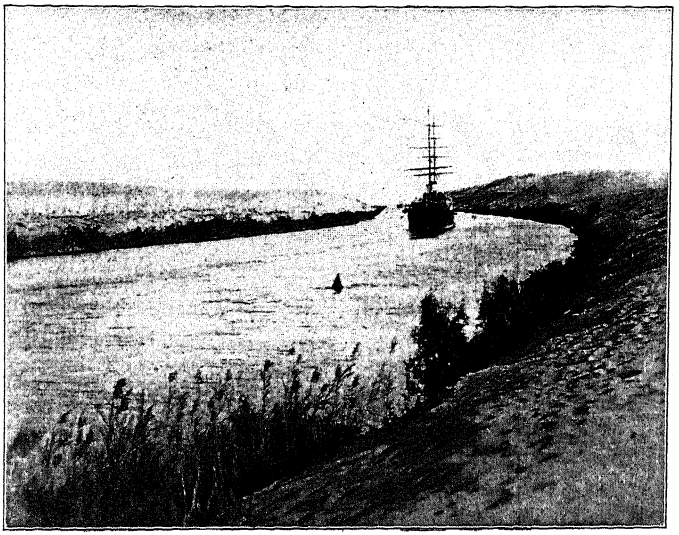
Reform followed reform. Cardwell, the minister of war, attacked some of the abuses in the army. Two very important changes were made. First, the system of purchasing commissions in the army was abolished, and promotion was made dependent, not on rank, but on merit and industry. Secondly, the long term service of twenty-five years was replaced by a short term service, whereby a man after serving at least six years actively in the army was to pass into the reserve, though he was liable at any time during a succeeding six years to be called to the front. In 1871, in order to conciliate the working classes, Gladstone put through a measure incorporating trade unions and legalizing strikes, but forbidding all acts of intimidation.

But Gladstone was trying to do too much, and each measure alienated some part of the British people. A licensing act angered the liquor dealers; the army reform aroused the Conservatives; the elementary education act incensed the Nonconformists; the Irish land laws embittered the landlords; and the trade unions act failed to satisfy the workingmen. In 1873 the ministry, having been defeated on a measure concerning the Dublin University, resigned, and, when the new elections of 1874 were held, the Conservatives were victorious, with a majority of fifty. Disraeli became prime minister and Derby minister of foreign affairs. For the first time in thirty-two years the Conservatives controlled in the House of Commons a majority upon which they could rely.

368. Disraeli's Imperial Policy: the Indian Empire. — The new ministry interested itself to a certain extent in legislation for the benefit of the working classes, but in the main was content with the inauguration of a brilliant foreign policy. Gladstone had cared but little for affairs abroad, and had rigidly kept free from all foreign entanglements. As far as the colonies were concerned, the relations between them and the British government were not at all friendly in the years 1869–1870, and the Gladstone ministry would probably have let them go had they expressed a desire for separation. Neither Gladstone nor Disraeli seems to have been interested in the colonies as such at this time, and ten years passed before British statesmen awoke to a realization of the future importance of the colonies. Disraeli was interested in India, and he determined to make that possession, in a new and vivid sense, an appanage of the crown.

The Suez Canal had been constructed in 1869, and at once had given a new importance to the Mediterranean route to India. In order to control this canal, Disraeli, in 1875, purchased, for £4,000,000, the one hundred and seventy-six thousand shares which the Khedive of Egypt owned in the canal. The same year he despatched the Prince of Wales to India, ostensibly to hunt tigers, but in reality to awaken a new

enthusiasm for Great Britain and to build up a closer connection between Great Britain and India. The next year Disraeli sent, as viceroy to India, Lord Lytton, a man with imperial ideas like his own, and pushed through parliament a measure called the Royal Titles Bill, conferring on the British sovereign the title of Emperor or Empress of India. The climax of this policy came when, in a great *durbar* at Delhi, the old



THE SUEZ CANAL.

capital of the Mongols, January 1, 1877, in the presence of a great concourse of sovereigns, Indian nobles and potentates, ambassadors and soldiers, Queen Victoria was formally proclaimed Empress of India.[1]

In dealing with India a strict regard was shown for all their native customs and prejudices and every effort was made to arouse the enthusiasm of the Indian peoples for Great Britain. Natives were employed on the same footing with Englishmen

[1] Lee, No. 232.

in the departments of police, finance, and justice; local councils were created; liberty of the press was allowed; and later, an Indian national congress, composed of high-caste Brahmins, was permitted to meet to propose and discuss reforms in administration. This method of treating the native peoples of India, which had first been tried by Lord Mayo in 1872, marked a great change from the centralized system of Dalhousie in the days before the Sepoy mutiny.



ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, IN 1877.
From a photograph.

369. The Russo-Turkish War and the Congress of Berlin. — The new interest in India, and Disraeli's desire to maintain the Mediterranean route thither, almost brought on a war with Russia in 1878. In 1875 the Christian peoples of Turkey rose in revolt against the oppressive measures of the Turkish tax-gatherers. The atrocious methods employed by Turkey to suppress the uprising aroused the indignation of the people of western Europe. Gladstone, who had withdrawn from public life after 1874, emerged from his retirement, and in pamphlets and speeches on the "Bulgarian atrocities" scored the policy of Disraeli for its inhumanity in supporting the Turk. The Czar Alexander (1855–1881) came out definitely in support of the oppressed peoples of Turkey, and, after the powers had failed in all attempts at mediation, declared war on Turkey, April 24, 1877. Public opinion in England, stirred by Gladstone's speeches, forced Disraeli to remain strictly neutral. The Turks fought bravely during the winter of 1877–1878, and in the siege of

Plevna checked for a time the advance of Russia. But their efforts were vain, and in January, 1878, Russian troops succeeded in penetrating to the confines of Constantinople.

The British, ever suspicious of Russia, now believed that the long-dreaded occupation of Constantinople was at hand, and were ready to take up arms should Russia advance a step farther. Happily the danger was averted by Russia's remaining where she was; but, unfortunately, the Russian envoy, Ignatieff, compelled the Sultan to sign the treaty of San Stefano, which practically dismembered the Ottoman empire and left the Sultan with little territory in Europe. Immediately Great Britain and Austria declared that they would not accept the treaty, and demanded that it be submitted for revision to a general congress of the European powers. The Czar yielded, and in June, 1878, the congress met at Berlin. There Disraeli and Salisbury carried on a diplomatic war with the Russian representative, Gortchakoff, and came off victorious on nearly every point. Turkey was left in possession of the main part of her territory, though Servia, Rumania, and Montenegro were declared independent, and Bulgaria, though remaining under Turkish authority, was given powers of self-government. Great Britain obtained the right to occupy Cyprus. Disraeli returned to England, "bearing peace with honor." But in general it cannot be said that the treaty of Berlin accomplished all that it might have done for the solution of the Eastern question.

370. Wars in Afghanistan and South Africa. — War, thus narrowly averted in the southeast, was provoked in Afghanistan and Africa. The war in Afghanistan was due to the old rivalry between Russia and Great Britain. Disraeli viewed the appearance of a Russian ambassador at Kabul in 1878 as evidence of Russia's determination to obtain control of Afghanistan. Deeming this act a breach of the neutrality of that country, he sent an army in November and compelled Russia to withdraw. But the massacre of the British residents in Kabul, in September, 1879, provoked a continuation of the

struggle, and ended in the placing of Abdurrahman, a friend of England, on the throne as ameer of Afghanistan.

In South Africa, the discovery of the diamond fields of Kimberley led England to annex West Griqualand in 1887 and the Transvaal the same year. The latter state had been founded by the Boers in 1848, but by 1876 it had, as a Transvaal newspaper well said, "an empty treasury, an unsuccessful war, an increasing debt, a total loss of credit, an obstinate president, and a discontented people." Therefore, believing the condition of the state to be a source of common peril, Great Britain annexed the Transvaal in 1877, and for four years, whether rightly or wrongly, occupied it. The governor, Sir Bartle Frere, next undertook the subjugation of the neighboring Zulus, but met with an unexpectedly stubborn resistance. Not until 1879 was the war successfully completed, and then only after reënforcements had arrived under General Wolseley.



JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, IN 1885.
From a photograph.

Disraeli's policy not only proved expensive, but savored somewhat of ostentation. It led to the neglect of home interests, to half-hearted measures of reform, and to widespread discontent in England. When, therefore, the general elections of 1880 were held, the Conservatives were driven from power, and the Liberals, with a parliamentary majority of one hundred, returned to office.

371. The Crisis in Ireland. — The second Gladstone ministry was significant for two reasons. In it appeared for the first time two members of the Radical party — Joseph Chamberlain

and Sir Charles Dilke, the first of whom was to become famous in the years that were to follow. The growing importance of the Radicals was due largely to the reform of 1867, which had given increased voting privileges to the boroughs where lay the strength of their party. Equally significant was the appearance in the House of Commons of eighty Irish members, under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell, an able, but unscrupulous, champion of the Irish cause. The Irish were now seeking, not independence, but home rule; that is, independent self-government for Ireland. In order to gain attention, Parnell began to employ new tactics of obstruction in parliament, while other leaders in Ireland organized the Irish National Land League (1879), for the purpose of fighting the landlords by defending evicted tenants and of obtaining, if possible, a reform of the Irish land system.



CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.
From a photograph.

The League encouraged the employment of all legitimate methods to injure the landlords. Among them was the "boycott," used for the first time against Captain Boycott, an English agent of Lord Erne in County Mayo, who had served notices on Lord Erne's tenants. But the followers of the League did not always show self-control, and the burning of farms, the mutilation of cattle, and even murder became the order of the day. The government decided on coercion, and, in spite of the obstruction tactics employed by the Irish members in parliament, succeeded in passing a coercion act, February 25, 1881. So bitter was the Irish opposition to this

policy and so distressing the operation of the act, that Gladstone finally changed his tactics. He began to treat with Parnell and other leaders, who had in the meantime been shut up in Kilmainham jail, and offered to compromise. But the good results of these overtures were destroyed in May, 1882, when, in Phœnix Park, Dublin, a band of conspirators of the lower classes, who wished to render conciliation impossible, murdered Lord Frederick Cavendish, the newly appointed secretary for Ireland. A second coercion bill was passed, but it did little to abate the agitation.

372. Reform Bill of 1884. — Amid all this excitement, while Ireland was revengeful and sullen, Gladstone redeemed a former promise to extend the British franchise, and to grant the counties the same privileges that had been given in 1867 to the towns. The measure was introduced on February 24, 1884, and in its main provision was exceedingly simple. It merely extended to the counties the £10 franchise of 1832 and the household and lodger franchises of 1867, thereby giving to both boroughs and counties a uniform electoral privilege.[1] It also created a new class of voters, by granting the right to vote to certain persons who occupied houses without being either owners or tenants. The Conservatives did not oppose the measure, but would not support it until the Liberals made known what they proposed to do in the matter of disenfranchising old boroughs and redistributing seats. By this act some two million voters, largely agricultural and mining laborers, were added to the body of electors. By the Distribution Bill,[2] passed the next year, all boroughs and districts with less than fifteen thousand inhabitants were deprived of their seats, which were distributed among the larger towns and counties in proportion to their size. The number of seats in parliament was increased by thirty. England obtained eighteen additional members, Scotland twelve, while the representation of Ireland and Wales remained unchanged.

[1] Adams and Stephens, No. 275. [2] Adams and Stephens, No. 276.

373. Gladstone's Policy in Afghanistan, South Africa, and Egypt. — The Gladstone government was distinctly not interested in affairs abroad. In 1880 it had withdrawn the British garrisons from Kabul and Kandahar. When in December of the same year the Boers struck for independence, an attempt was made to coerce them. But the British forces were repulsed at Langs Nek and afterward defeated with heavy loss at Majuba Hill, February 27, 1881. Then the British government made a treaty, guaranteeing to the Boers self-government under certain specified terms and conditions, which were intended to secure the rights both of the burghers and of the British residents in the Transvaal. In 1884 the vague terms of this treaty were better defined by giving Great Britain entire control over foreign affairs, leaving the Boers free to manage internal affairs in their own way.[1]

Similar in character were Great Britain's relations with Egypt. When the Khedive became bankrupt in 1878, a dual control by Great Britain and France was established. This intrusion of aliens into the land aroused a national party in Egypt, under Colonel Arabi Bey, which aimed at the liberation of Egypt. France refused to interfere; and in 1882, after forty-nine Europeans had been massacred at Alexandria, Great Britain took up the war alone, and General Wolseley defeated Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir on September 13. But the war had a tragic end. Taking advantage of the disorganized state into which Egypt had fallen, the southern provinces revolted and threw off the rule of the Khedive. At their head appeared one Mohammed Achmed, claiming to be the Mahdi, or Guide, the representative of Allah on earth. The revolt soon assumed vast proportions, and two armies sent against the Mahdi's followers in 1883, one under Hicks Pasha and another under Baker Pasha, were in large part destroyed. Then the Gladstone ministry, at its wit's end, despatched General Gordon to Khartum to deal with the Mahdi. But Gordon was soon sur-

[1] For the treaties with the Boers, see Lee, Nos. 233, 234, 235.

rounded by the Sudanese, and at first Gladstone did nothing to relieve him. Finally, however, shamed into action by public opinion, he sent a relief expedition under General Wilson, which arrived too late. Khartum had fallen and Gordon had been slain a few days before (January 26, 1885.) For the time being, the Sudan was lost to the Khedive.

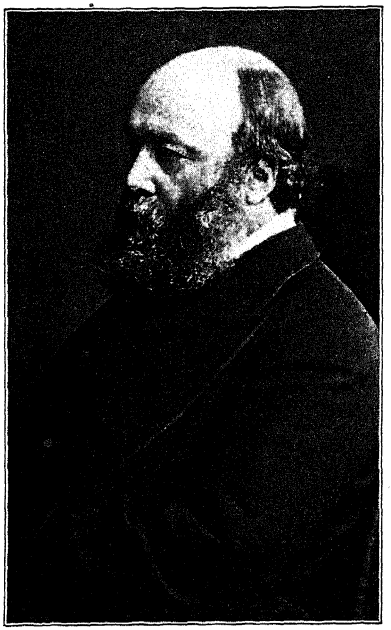
In colonial matters the government was equally unsuccessful. In 1884 Bismarck, Chancellor of the German Empire, who was determined to make Germany a great colonial power, was able to occupy important territories in Africa and to establish German colonies in Namaqua and Damaraland, Kamerun, Togoland, and German East Africa. This enterprising effort of a neighboring power to obtain colonies in Africa roused the British government from its apathy to all matters colonial, and stirred in the British people a new interest in the acquirement of colonial territory.

374. First Attempt to grant Home Rule to Ireland. — The Liberals were defeated in parliament in 1885, and Lord Salisbury became the head of a Conservative ministry. After a short time he dissolved parliament and appealed to the country. The elections of 1885, the first held under the new electoral law, resulted in a victory for the Liberals, and Gladstone became minister for the third time.

The appearance of eighty-six Irish Home Rulers in parliament made it evident that if Gladstone were to command a majority, he must advocate measures favorable to home rule. On April 8, 1886, he brought in his first Home Rule Bill. By it he proposed to give Ireland a separate parliament, a separate ministry, and control of taxes and certain specified revenues. According to this plan, no Irish members were to sit in the British parliament. The two countries were to have the same king, and the British parliament was to have a certain control over Irish law-making and Irish revenues; but otherwise Ireland was to be independent of England. The measure aroused great opposition, and was defeated in June, 1886.[1]

[1] Kendall, No. 132.

Unfortunately for the Liberals, this first attempt to grant home rule to Ireland led a body of able men, Chamberlain, John Bright, Hartington, and others, to withdraw from the Liberal party. These men formed a new group, the Liberal Unionists, so called because, while adhering to Liberal principles, they desired union with Ireland. In 1886, when new elections took place, the Liberals were defeated, and Lord Salisbury became prime minister.



LORD SALISBURY.
From a photograph.

375 Second Salisbury Ministry (1886-1892). — The second Salisbury ministry endeavored to conciliate Ireland: in 1887, by reducing rents; and in 1888 and 1891, by appropriating money to enable tenants to buy their lands. A permanent land commission was appointed, and in the decade that followed, many tenants made application for loans from the government. The policy had a good effect, and certainly was followed by a decrease of crime in Ireland. This result was due in part to the disruption of the Irish party in 1890.

Among the most important measures of the Salisbury ministry was that of 1888 reorganizing local government. This new act supplemented the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, by taking the control of the counties out of the hands of the local aristocracy or country gentlemen, and giving it to govern-

ing boards elected by the ratepayers. The importance of the change lay in this, that whereas hitherto nearly every person intrusted with local administration had been, theoretically at least, appointed by the crown, by the new law he was to be elected by the ratepayers. Such a change amounted to a revolution. The powers conferred on the counties in 1888 were extended to the parishes in 1894, and that which was at first done for England was finally extended to Scotland and Ireland also.

376. The Second Attempt to grant Home Rule to Ireland. — The local government acts were in part a concession to the growing radical and socialistic elements that for a decade had been gaining strength in Great Britain. The most noteworthy victory of the Progressists, as these Radicals were called, was in London, where in 1892 they gained control of the London County Council. Though they lost their majority in 1895, they were again successful in 1898 and 1901. Side by side with the Progressists appeared the Labor party, of which the most remarkable leader was John Burns.[1] But neither of these parties won many seats in parliament, though some of their members sat as Liberals. In the elections of 1900 only two, Keir Hardy and Bell of Derby, were returned as avowedly Labor members, John Burns standing as a Liberal.

When parliament was dissolved in 1892, the Liberal party made home rule and the improvement of the condition of labor its chief issues before the country. The elections resulted in a Liberal majority of forty, but a majority wholly dependent on Irish votes. True to his promise, Gladstone, on February 13, 1893, presented his second home rule measure. He demanded for Ireland a legislature of two houses, with power to make laws, and an executive, like a colonial governor. He demanded that Irish peers should sit in the British House of Lords and eighty Irish members in the British House of Commons. The

[1] The first labor representative in parliament had been Joseph Arch. See Kendall, No. 138.

home rule thus granted was somewhat less extensive than that provided for in 1886. In the House of Commons the debate on this measure continued for three months, and the opposition did all in its power to prevent the passage of the bill. The long strain, the bitter feelings aroused, the attempts of the government to check debate, ended in a pitched battle on the floor of the house, July 29, which resulted in battered hats and torn clothing. The bill was finally carried by a majority of thirty-four; but the House of Lords, feeling that so small a majority, entirely made up of Irish votes, hardly represented the wishes of the British people, defeated the bill by a large majority.[1]

377. Elections of 1895.—This act of the peers aroused against them the animosity of the Liberals. Gladstone, Labouchere, and others denounced the House of Lords, and carried on a veritable campaign for its abolition. Gladstone resigned in March, 1894; and, to the great dissatisfaction of Radicals like Labouchere, who did not want a leader from the House of Lords, Lord Rosebery became the acknowledged head of the Liberal party. But Rosebery's tenure was brief. Defeated on a small matter in June, 1895, he resigned; and at once his successor, Lord Salisbury, dissolved parliament and appealed to the country. The elections of 1895 were full of interest. The Liberals were disheartened. During their three years of power, they had not only accomplished very little, but they had failed to deal effectively with any of the great social problems. They had wasted time on the home rule question, and had got from it no adequate return. The great promises of their earlier programmes had not been fulfilled. At the polls they suffered heavy defeat, and the Conservatives obtained a majority greater than at any other time in their history. Even without the Liberal Unionists, who, since 1886, had been their ardent allies, they would have had full control of the House of Commons.

[1] Kendall, No. 133.

378. Disruption of the Liberal Party. — The new ministry was made up of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists, and remained firmly intrenched in office for five years. The Liberals gradually underwent disruption. The withdrawal of the Liberal Unionists had deprived them of some of their ablest members. Gladstone had retired, leaving them without a leader in whom all had faith, and they formed a disunited party, without fixed and definite policy, and without harmony among themselves. Their Irish allies, who had divided into hostile groups after the death of Parnell, were estranged because of the failure of the home rule policy, and were angry when the Liberals refused to place home rule any longer in the front of their programme. During the years between 1895 and the general elections of 1900, one Liberal leader after another came to the front. Rosebery resigned in 1896; Sir William Harcourt took his place, but in 1898 withdrew from the leadership of a party that was "rent by sectional disputes and personal interests." Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman became Harcourt's successor; but before 1900 the party itself seemed completely demoralized. A group of Liberal Imperialists, supporters of the imperial policy of the Conservatives, and led by Sir E. Grey and Lord Brassey, broke away from the party and formed a separate group by themselves. This left the Little Englanders, that is, those who opposed the enlargement of the empire by the acquirement of new territory, in full control.[1] The Conservative party never seemed stronger or more united, and never better able to carry out its policy with efficiency and despatch than in the year 1900.

379. Social and Industrial Tendencies. — The Conservative government, maintaining the traditions of its predecessors, gave its attention to the demands of the industrial and agricultural classes, and tried to bring about social reform. It dealt with the matter of factories, and endeavored to bring more

[1] John Morley was one of the best-known Little Englanders. See his "Warning," in Kendall, No. 150.

industries under the operation of the law. It concerned itself with hours of labor, but was unsuccessful in carrying an eight-hour law for miners. It passed a bill providing for compensation for accidents, which increased the workingman's opportunity of enforcing claims against employers; it tried to check disease among cattle and swine, to prevent adulteration of drugs and food, to prevent explosions in mines, and to enable occupiers of small dwellings to purchase their homes. It supplemented the land purchase acts for Ireland, and created a department of agriculture for that country; and, in some ways, its most important work was its attempt to create a uniform school system. It extended the government's ownership of telegraphs and telephones; and, in other ways, increased the government's control of public conveniences. It must not be supposed that these legislative activities were confined to the Conservatives only. All governments since 1868 had been regulating private activities and extending the authority of the state in matters relating to the welfare of the masses.

380. Position of Great Britain Abroad. — Of great importance and interest was the position of Great Britain abroad. Since 1885, other European countries, notably Germany and France, had been increasing their commerce and adding to their colonies. They had extended their trade and sought new markets for the commodities they had to sell. Wherever there were opportunities for a market, a sphere of influence, or an addition of territory, there such powers as Great Britain, Germany, France, and Russia were disputing, generally peacefully, for possession.

By 1900, Germany had colonies in eastern Africa, western Africa, and the islands of the Pacific, had a port in China, and had obtained considerable influence in Asia Minor and Palestine. France had possessions in northern and western Africa, in Tonquin, Annam, and Cambodia, had a port in China, and was seeking for openings in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Russia had carried her great Siberian railway to the Pacific,

was pressing against China from the north and controlling Manchuria, was pushing forward by way of Transcaspia to the frontier of India, was extending her influence in Persia, and was coöperating with France at Muscat and in Somaliland. Germany, Austria, and Italy were united in a triple alliance, and France and Russia in a dual alliance, for mutual support and the preservation of peace. Great Britain stood alone, the rival of all, yet on peaceful terms with all.

Diplomacy underwent a change. Foreign relations were no longer limited to the European continent. After 1885, foreign ministers were interested, not only in questions concerning dynasties and treaties, but in colonial boundaries, spheres of influence, rights of possession, trade routes and markets, tariffs and tariff treaties. In the great majority of cases, negotiation, agreement, arbitration, and compromise were substituted for wars. In many important crises the powers acted together in common accord, in order to promote peace and to avoid war.

Beginning with the Berlin conference of 1885, the European powers were able to complete the partition of Africa in fourteen years, without war. Though some of the powers, notably Great Britain and France, became involved in disputes that seemed to threaten war, such as the Niger difficulty in 1898, and the Fashoda affair in 1896–1898, yet common sense in the end prevailed, and the troubles were settled peacefully. In 1895 a controversy arose between Great Britain and the United States over the question of the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela. For the moment the matter looked serious; but Lord Salisbury, aware that the territory was not worth fighting for, consented to submit the matter to arbitration. In October, 1899, a decision was rendered by a board sitting at Paris, and Great Britain received nearly all she had claimed. Great Britain, Germany, and the United States referred a dispute regarding the Samoan Islands to King Oscar of Sweden, who, in 1902, rendered a decision which all received without demurring.

In 1898 a conference was summoned at The Hague to discuss plans for the preservation of peace and the reduction of armaments of war. It accomplished little in those particulars; but it established a tribunal of arbitration for all civilized countries. This tribunal had its first case in 1902, when it was called upon to settle a dispute between Mexico and the United States; and its second case in 1903, when Great Britain, Germany, and Venezuela agreed to put into its hands a serious difficulty regarding Venezuela's indebtedness to the first two powers.

In 1900, when a Boxer uprising in China roused the attention of the civilized world, the powers, with a harmony rarely exhibited before, suppressed the murderous revolt; and in the conference that followed, from August, 1900, to September, 1901, settled amicably the intricate and difficult questions involved. Though Great Britain and Russia came into diplomatic conflict over many questions, nevertheless all difficulties were overcome with no more serious consequences than delay. To special commissions were left certain complicated questions concerning tariff duties on imports into China, and the revision of the trade treaties. The success of the European concert in China closed a noteworthy period of seventeen years of diplomacy, during which scores of difficult questions were settled peacefully that in older days might easily have led to war.

381. Great Britain's Dominions beyond the Seas: Egypt. — The attempt of the Continental powers to obtain markets aroused Great Britain to a new interest in her colonies, and to new activities in various parts of her great empire.

In Egypt the recovery of the Sudan was begun in 1896, when the sirdar, General Kitchener,[1] advanced into Dongola and gradually pushed southward toward Khartum. On April 8, 1898, was fought the battle of the Atbara; on September 2, that of Omdurman. By these two British victories the power of the dervishes was broken and the Sudan restored to Egypt.

[1] Kendall, No. 148.

On January 5, 1899, was laid the corner-stone of the Gordon Memorial College at Khartum; and a few weeks afterward a convention was signed with Egypt, giving Great Britain control in the equatorial region south of the 22° of north latitude. In March the boundary between the French and British spheres was defined, and the last cause of difficulty of that kind seemed to be removed. Great Britain had long ago promised to withdraw from Egypt, but had stayed, despite the protests of France and Turkey. Though breaking her pledged word, she has without doubt contributed to the material and moral improvement of the people who inhabit the valley and delta of the Nile.

382. Australian Federation. — In Australia a movement looking to the federation of the colonies of that island continent had been begun as early as 1883. For eighteen years the matter was considered, and the efforts of those interested were continued. But union was difficult to effect. Finally, in 1899, a federal constitution was adopted by all the colonies of Australasia, except New Zealand, and in June, 1900, this constitution was accepted by the British House of Commons. Thus was created the Federal Commonwealth of Australia, under the crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. With the opening of the first federal parliament at Melbourne, in May, 1901, a new era in the history of this part of the British world began.

383. The Boer War. — Equally noteworthy was the rapid advance of the British in South Africa. Since the founding of the German colonies by Bismarck in 1884, and the discovery of gold in the Transvaal in 1886, British interest in the interior lands of Africa had vastly increased. During the years that followed, to 1895, British colonists had pushed northward through Bechuanaland into the land afterward called Rhodesia. By 1896, British territory in South Africa comprised Cape Colony, Rhodesia, British Central Africa or Northern Rhodesia, and Nyassaland. Telegraph lines were carried through the new territory, and a railroad, which in 1898 was extended

to Salisbury, was planned to connect in Uganda with the Egyptian road already built as far south as Khartum. This rapid advance of the British cut off the Boer states from the interior; and, in consequence of a special arrangement made by Great Britain with Portugal, who possessed Mozambique, they were cut off also from the ocean.

By the treaty of 1884 (§ 373), the British suzerainty over the Boers had been restricted to foreign relations, and not very strictly observed even at that. But the discovery of gold brought so many immigrants into the Transvaal, that Johannesburg became a city, not of Boers, but of foreigners. Discontent soon arose, owing to the narrow policy of the Boers, and the foreign residents in the Transvaal found it impossible to obtain a redress of grievances by peaceful means. Therefore, in 1895, a conspiracy was formed for the overthrow of the Boer government. Dr. Jameson, of the British chartered company, with a band of followers, invaded the Transvaal, but was surrounded and captured, December 25, 1895. This unfortunate attempt greatly injured the cause of the foreigners, and threw power into the hands of the reactionary party of the Boers, whose leader was President Kruger. From 1896 to 1899, relations between Great Britain and the Transvaal became more and more strained, until finally, in October, 1899, Kruger issued an ultimatum, which brought on war.

The Boer war lasted from October, 1899, to the summer of 1902. The British were at first repulsed, and, in the battles of Stormberg (December 10), Magersfontein (December 11), and Colenso (December 15) were badly defeated. In January, 1900, Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener took the command; and, during that year, notwithstanding the heroic defence of the Boers, occupied both republics, and proclaimed their annexation to Great Britain. But the Boers, under De Wet, Botha, and Delarey, fought on, inflicting great losses, until, on May 31, 1902, a treaty of peace was signed and on June 16 the last Boer company laid down its arms. The war redounded to the glory of the Boers, who showed themselves to be brave



QUEEN VICTORIA.

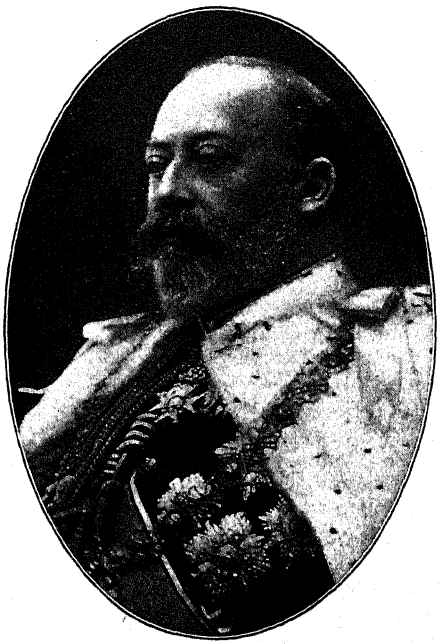
From a photograph taken late in life.

men and skilful strategists. It showed Lord Kitchener to be not only a fighter, but a shrewd and tactful administrator. By the terms of peace, the Boers lost their independence, but received concessions that were designed to transform them into loyal subjects of the British empire.

384. The Elections of 1900. — The Conservatives, notwithstanding the distractions of the war, were able to consider many important legislative measures. In 1900 they determined to dissolve parliament and try their strength with the country. The electoral campaign was contested largely on the war issue, since the Liberals were without definite programme, and could do little more than stand on their own platform of peace, retrenchment, and reform. The Conservatives came out victorious, with a majority of one hundred and thirty-four; while the party favoring the Boers was overwhelmingly defeated. The Liberals and Irish Nationalists made strenuous efforts to reorganize their parties, but without success.

385. Death of Queen Victoria: Accession of Edward VII. — In January, 1901, alarming reports began to be circulated regarding the health of the queen; and on January 22, she died at the advanced age of eighty-two years. Never had the death of a monarch aroused such sincere and widespread grief. She had reigned nearly sixty-four years, a very long period, during which she had seen greater changes in the conditions of human existence than had any sovereign who had preceded her. Between 1837 and 1901, the material, political, and social life, not only of England, but of Europe as a whole, had undergone a great transformation. During these years, Victoria had won not only the love and devotion of her subjects, the respect and veneration of the outside world for her nobility of life and character, but also the admiration of statesmen for her sanity of judgment and inflexible honorableness of conduct in politics and diplomacy. Said Lord Salisbury: "She has bridged over that great interval which separates old England from new England. Other nations may have had to pass through similar trials, but have seldom passed through them

so peaceably, so easily, and with so much prosperity and success as we have. I think that future historians will look to the queen's reign as the boundary which separates the two states of England, and will recognize that we have undergone the change, with constant increase of public prosperity, without any friction to endanger the stability of our civil life; and, at the same time, with a constant expansion of an empire which every year grows more and more powerful."



EDWARD VII.
From a photograph.

Queen Victoria was succeeded by her eldest son, the Prince of Wales, who ascended the throne as Edward VII. In his coronation oath, he expressed his full determination to rule "as a constitutional sovereign in the strictest sense of the word"; and "to work," he said, "as long as there is breath in my body, for the good and amelioration of my people." On August 9, 1902, he was crowned as King of Great Britain and Ireland, Emperor of India, and Sovereign of the Dominion beyond the Seas. On January 1, 1903, at a *durbar* held in Delhi, he was formally proclaimed Emperor of India. The Victorian Era had ended, and a period of British history, commensurate with the new century and characterized by new problems and new issues, had begun.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER XIII. — There is no history of England in the nineteenth century that is even approximately complete. The last two volumes of Bright's *History of England* cover the greater part of the period (1837–1901), and can be cordially recommended as a useful compilation. Spencer Walpole's *History of England*, 6 vols. (1878–1890), is a work of very great merit and is valuable for all that relates to internal affairs, particularly of a social and economic character. Martineau's *History of England during the Peace*, 1816–1846, 2 vols. (1864), is entertaining and gossipy and has enjoyed a wide popularity, but it must be classed with ephemeral historical productions. McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*, 4 vols. (1878–1880), is cleverly written, but it does not rise above the level of good journalism. Molesworth's *History of England*, 3 vols. (1874), deals chiefly with the parliamentary history and discusses the reform bills. Ward's *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, 2 vols. (1887), and Escott's *Social Transformations of the Victorian Age* (1897) are semi-popular outlines of the chief characteristics of nineteenth-century progress in England.

There are many biographies of the statesmen of the period, of which only a few need be mentioned here. Stapleton's *Life of Canning* (1831), Parker's *Life of Peel* (1 vol. out, 1891), Thursfield's *Peel* in the English Statesmen Series, Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort* (1875–1880), Lane Poole's *Life of Stratford Canning* (1888), Torren's *Life of Melbourne* (1878), Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell* (1889), Dalling's *Life of Palmerston to 1846* (1871), Ashley's *Life of Palmerston from 1848 to 1865* (1876), Morley's *Life of Cobden* (1881), and the same writer's *Life of Gladstone*, 3 vols. (1903), Barnett Smith's *Life of Gladstone* (1880), the same writer's *Life and Letters of John Bright* (1881), Brandes's *Life of Disraeli* (translated from the German, 1880), Reid's *Life of W. E. Forster* (1888), O'Brien's *Life of Parnell*, 2 vols. (1898), How's *The Marquis of Salisbury* (1903), Holmes's *Queen Victoria* (1901), and Lee's *Queen Victoria, a Biography* (1902), are among the most representative for the period. There is, unfortunately, no authoritative life of Disraeli. In addition to the work of Brandes, brief biographies of that statesman may be found in series (*i*), (*m*), and (*p*) noted on pages 554 and 555 of this book. Bryce's *Studies in Contemporary Biography* (1903) contains admirable estimates of Disraeli, Parnell, and Gladstone.

There is no satisfactory constitutional history of the period. Taswell-Langmead deals very briefly with certain aspects of the subject; Medley is almost as brief; May stops with 1860; Dale, with 1832. Dickinson has written a suggestive book entitled *The Development of Parliament during the Nineteenth Century* (1895), and Rose another, on *The Rise and Growth of Democracy in Great Britain* (1897) in the Victorian Era Series. There

is a brief but well-balanced outline of the internal history of Great Britain since 1815 in Seignobos's *Political History of Europe since 1814* (Macvane's translation), Chaps. II–IV. Excellent recent works in small compass on the present English constitution are Macy's *The English Constitution*, Part I (1897); Courtney's *The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom* (1901); and Moran's *The Theory and Practice of the English Government* (1903).

The literature which treats of the social and economic changes of the nineteenth century in England is extensive. Only a few references to it can be given here. Gibbins's *Industry in England* (1896) has useful chapters introductory to the subject (XXIII–XXVI). Cheyney's *Introduction*, Chaps. VIII–IX, presents a satisfactory survey. Toynbee's *Industrial Revolution* (4th ed. 1894) is a work that was famous in its day and of great practical influence. Prothero's *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*, Chaps. VIII–XIX, covers the agricultural field admirably. Gammage, *History of Chartism* (1894), Nicholls, *Poor Laws* (new ed. 1896), Levi, *History of British Commerce* (1872), Hutchins and Harrison's *History of Factory Legislation* (1903), are excellent. A particularly useful series of works dealing compactly with their respective subjects make up the English Citizen Series: Traill, *Central Government* (1881); Jevons, *The State in Relation to Labour* (1882); Towle, *The Poor Law* (1882); Elliot, *The State and the Church* (1882); Chalmers, *Local Government* (1883); Farrer, *The State in its Relation to Trade* (1883); Craik, *The State in its Relation to Education* (1884); Maitland, *Justice and Police* (1885); Pollock, *The Land Laws* (3d ed. 1896).

In the English Citizen Series, Walpole's *Foreign Relations* (1882) and Cotton and Payne's *Colonies and Dependencies* (1883) are useful. Hamley's *The War in the Crimea* (1891), Events of Our Own Time Series, is chiefly a record of battles; Malleson, *The Indian Mutiny of 1857*, in the same series (1891), and Holmes, *History of the Indian Mutiny* (4th ed. 1891) are the best compact accounts of that great uprising. Sanderson's *Africa in the Nineteenth Century* (1898) is little more than a record of British exploits; but Keltie's *Partition of Africa* (1895) is well balanced and trustworthy. Milner's *England in Egypt* (1899), Doyle's *The Great Boer War* (1902), and De Wet's *Three Years' War* (1903) containing the negotiations for peace, may be mentioned. The works dealing with British wars in Asia and Africa are numerous. The best general survey of the British Empire of to-day can be obtained from the volumes of the British Empire Series: Vol. I, *India;* Vol. II, *British Africa;* Vol. III, *British America;* Vol. IV, *Australasia and Polynesia;* Vol. V, *General* (a group of essays on other British dependencies and on British activities in different parts of the world).

LIST OF BOOKS FOR PRACTICAL USE IN SCHOOLS.

THE books contained in the following lists are such as can be used to advantage in secondary schools by pupils who may be required to do a certain amount of collateral reading. The selection has been made with three objects in view: the recommending of books that are not only interesting but also of recent date, scholarly, and impartial; the omission of all books, no matter how familiar and authoritative, that are manifestly beyond the range of pupils of sixteen to eighteen years of age; and, lastly, the inclusion of works touching on as many aspects of the subject as possible, and the exclusion of books, in all cases except biographies, that merely duplicate in matter and mode of treatment better books already mentioned. Where possible, works of varying length, arranged in order of size, have been included.

All the books named in the lists would cost, at catalogue prices, $221.00; but selections costing from $10.00 to $100.00 can easily be made for libraries, by dropping all the larger works and taking such of the others as seem best adapted to the work of the classes who are to use them. Teachers who know what their pupils are interested in and are able to do, can easily make out such lists.

I. GENERAL LIST.

GENERAL HISTORY.

GARDINER, *A Student's History of England to 1885.* 1 vol. or 3 vols. Longmans, 1898 $3.00

RANSOME, *An Advanced History of England to 1895.* 1 vol. or 2 vols. Macmillan, 1895 2.25

GREEN, *A Short History of the English People.* Harpers . . 1.20

TERRY, *A History of England to 1901.* Scott, Forsman & Co., 1901 $2.00
LINGARD, *History of England*, abridged and continued by Birt. George Bell & Sons, 1903 1.00
BRIGHT, *A History of England to 1901.* 5 vols. Longmans . 8.25
TRAILL, *Social England to 1885.* 6 vols. Putnam, 1894–1897 . 21.00

Each of the four short histories first named has decided merits of its own, and the four taken together will furnish ample collateral reading. *Green* is delightful to read and unique in its treatment of the life of the people, but it is not always accurate, particularly in its earlier parts, and owing to its disregard of chronology is a hard book for the student to use. Nevertheless every pupil should read certain portions of it, if for no other reason than to be inspired by its enthusiasm. *Gardiner* is scholarly and full, but its arrangement is sometimes confusing and the style lacking in life and color. *Ransome* is more interesting than *Gardiner* and in many parts better, because the author has not attempted to include as many minor details, and the narrative is more continuous and at times more vivid. *Terry* is readable and useful; it lays stress on constitutional conditions and brings the subject to 1901. Birt's abridgment of *Lingard* is an excellent history, chiefly political, written from the standpoint of a fair-minded Roman Catholic scholar. *Bright* has marked merits, but is too long for school use and is decidedly dry; the last two volumes are the best. *Social England*, though uneven in merit and expensive, is almost indispensable. Carefully selected portions may be read by pupils, who will find in the work much that cannot be obtained elsewhere. The illustrated edition (1902–1905) is an improvement upon the first edition, for the first volume has been largely rewritten, and the illustrations are unusually fine. Its cost is $30.00.

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

MONTAGUE, *Elements of English Constitutional History.* Longmans, 1897 $1.00
TAYLOR, *Origin and Growth of the English Constitution.* 2 vols. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 9.00
SKOTTOWE, *Short History of Parliament.* Scribner . . . 1.00

With the exception of Montague's little book, there is no satisfactory work on constitutional history for pupils in preparatory schools. *Taylor* is here included because it is interestingly written, and in some parts is excellent. The volumes are, however, very uneven in merit; the portion dealing with the period before the Norman Conquest being of little value, while Volume II is, as a whole, inferior to the remaining chapters of Volume I.

Industrial and Economic History.

Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England.* Macmillan, 1901 $1.40

Warner, *Landmarks of English Industrial History.* Macmillan, 1899 1.60

Warner, *A Brief Survey of British History.* Blackie & Sons, 1900 0.50

Cunningham and McArthur. *Outlines of English Industrial History.* Macmillan 1.50

Gibbins, *Industry in England.* Scribner, 1896 4.20

Warner (*Brief Survey*) and *Cheyney* form the best introduction to social and economic history. *Warner* (*Landmarks*) and *Cunningham* are for more advanced students. The most satisfactory portion of *Gibbins* is that which deals with the last two centuries.

Church History.

Hutton, *A Short History of the Church in Great Britain.* Macmillan, 1900 $1.00

Wakeman, *Introduction to the History of the Church of England.* Macmillan, 1898 2.00

Perry, *A History of the English Church.* 3 vols. 1881–1891. Murray (Students' Manuals) (about) 7.00

Stephens and Hunt, *A History of the English Church through the Nineteenth Century.* 8 vols. Macmillan, 1900–1910 . 16.00

These volumes are by Hunt, Stephens, Capes, Gairdner, Frere, Hutton, Overton, and Cornish. That by Cornish on the Nineteenth Century is in two parts.

Hutton's short history of the English Church is a useful brief account. *Wakeman* is especially to be recommended. *Perry* is longer and a standard work. Each of these is written from the standpoint of the Church of England. The still longer work of *Stephens* and his collaborators is the best that has been written, but it contains a great deal more than the pupil can use, and the selections from it should be made with care.

Military and Naval History.

George, *Battles of English History from Hastings to the Indian Mutiny.* Dodd, Mead & Co., 1895 $2.00

Hannay, *A Short History of the Royal Navy, 1217–1688.* 2 vols. Methuen, 1898 6.00

Scottish, Welsh, and Irish History.

Hume Brown, *History of Scotland.* 3 vols. : I, to 1561 ; II, to 1689 ; III, to 1843. Cambridge Historical Series. Macmillan, 1901–1903 $5.00

Joyce, *Child's History of Ireland, from Earliest Times to the Death of O' Connell (1846).* Longmans 1.25

Joyce, *A Short History of Ireland, from Earliest Times to 1603.* Longmans 3.25

Morris, *Ireland, 1494–1898.* (With two introductory chapters.) Cambridge Historical Series. Macmillan . . . 1.60

Morris, *Ireland, 1798–1898.* Innes (about) 3.25

Edwards, *Wales.* Stories of Nation Series. Putnams, 1902 . 1.35

Rhys, E. *Readings in Welsh History.* Longmans . . . 0.50

Rhys (J.) and Jones, *The Welsh People, their Origin, History, Laws, Language, Literature.* Unwin, 1900 4.50

The works mentioned are the best brief accounts of their respective subjects. *Rhys and Jones* is, perhaps, too elaborate for student use, but on account of the dearth of reliable books on Wales is mentioned here.

Colonial History.

Woodward, *The Expansion of the British Empire.* Macmillan, 1899 $1.00

Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule, 1760–1900.* Cambridge Historical Series. Macmillan 1.75

Jenks, *The Australasian Colonies to 1893.* Cambridge Historical Series. Macmillan 1.75

Innes, *A Short History of the British in India.* Methuen, 1902 2.25

Theal, *Southern Africa.* Story of the Nation Series. Putnams 1.50

Greswell, *Growth and Administration of the British Colonies, 1837–1897.* Victorian Era Series. Stone 1.25

Atlases.

Gardiner, *Atlas of English History.* Longmans $1.50

This is the best atlas for student use.

Reich, *A New Atlas of English History.* Fifty-five maps, text, and index. Macmillan, 1903 3.25

Contains chiefly maps of battles and campaigns.

McClure, *Historical Church Atlas*, S.P.C.K. (Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge). Young, 1897 . . $6.50

Putzger, *Historische Schul-Atlas*. 31st ed. In quantities, $0.70. Single copies 1.00

This is a handy school atlas of general European history, with special reference to Germany.

Dow, *Atlas of European History*. Holt, 1907 1.25

Genealogical Tables.

George, *Genealogical Tables illustrative of Modern History*. 3d ed. Clarendon Press, 1886 $2.00

General List for Advanced Students.

A new coöperative *History of England*, edited by Hunt and Poole, and published by Longmans in twelve volumes, is likely to be of great value. Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History*, 5th ed., Houghton, Mifflin & Co., $6.00, is still useful; while Medley's *English Constitutional History*, 4th ed., Macmillan, $3.50, and Dale's *Principles of English Constitutional History*, Longmans, 1902, $1.50, are admirable. Ashley's *English Economic History*, Longmans, Vol. I, Part I, $1.25, Part II, $2.60, and Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, Vol. I, 1902, Vol. II, two parts, 1904, Macmillan (Vol. I, $4.00, Vol. II, $8.00), are standard authorities. The great work on the development of the law is Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law to the Reign of Edward I*, 2 vols., 1895, 2d ed., 1899, Little, Brown & Co., $9.00. On the House of Lords, Pike, *Constitutional History of the House of Lords from Original Sources*, 1894, Macmillan, $4.00. On the army and navy, Fortesque, *History of the British Army*, from earliest times to the present, (4 vols. out, 1906, carrying the subject to 1801), 1899-1906, $21.00; *The Royal Navy*, a history from the earliest times to the present, edited by Clowes, 5 vols. (1897–1900), Little, Brown & Co., $32.50, a work of collaboration and of many and varied merits. An excellent introductory work is Gardiner and Mullinger's *Introduction to the Study of English History*, 3d ed., Holt, $1.80. This contains comments on literature to 1822 only. The only complete bibliography of early English history is Gross's *Sources and Literature of English History to 1485* (1901), Longmans, $5.00. There is no single bibliography of the later period, though one is projected by the Royal Historical Society. Good accounts of the mediæval chroniclers can be found in Gairdner's *Early Chroniclers of Europe, England*, S.P.C.K., $1.25.

II. LIST OF SERIES, CHIEFLY BIOGRAPHICAL AND EPOCHAL.

(*a*) EARLY BRITAIN SERIES, S.P.C.K., imported by Young: *Celtic Britain*, by Rhys, $1.25; *Roman Britain*, by Scarth, $1.00; *Anglo-Saxon Britain*, by Grant Allen, $1.00; *Norman Britain*, by Hunt, $1.00.

(*b*) CONVERSION OF THE WEST SERIES, S.P.C.K., imported by Young, each $0.80: *The Celts*, *The English*, *The Northmen*, by Maclear.

(*c*) THE FATHERS FOR ENGLISH READERS, S.P.C.K., imported by Young: *St. Patrick*, by Newell, $1.00; *St. Augustine*, by Cutts, $0.80; *The Venerable Bede*, by Browne, $0.80.

(*d*) EPOCHS OF MODERN HISTORY, edited by Morris, published by Longmans, each $1.00: *The Normans in Europe*, by Johnson; *The Early Plantagenets*, by Stubbs; *Edward III*, by Warburton; *The Houses of Lancaster and York*, by Gairdner; *The Early Tudors*, by Moberly; *The Age of Elizabeth*, by Creighton; *The Puritan Revolution, 1603–1660*, by Gardiner; *The English Restoration and Louis XIV*, by Airy; *The Fall of the Stuarts and Western Europe*, by Hale; *The Age of Anne*, by Morris; *The Early Hanoverians*, by Morris; *The Epoch of Reform, 1830–1850*, by McCarthy.

(*e*) EPOCHS OF CHURCH HISTORY, published by Longmans, each, $0.80: *The English Church in the Middle Ages*, by Hunt; *Wycliffe and the Movements of Reform*, by Poole; *The History of the Reformation in England*, by Perry; *The Church and the Puritans*, by Wakeman; *The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century*, by Overton.

(*f*) HEROES OF THE NATIONS, published by Putnam, each, $1.50: *Cromwell*, by Firth; *O'Connell*, by Dunlap; *Glyndwr*, by Bradley; *Henry V*, by Kingsford; *Edward I*, by Jenks; *Sir Philip Sidney*, by Fox Bourne; *Nelson*, by Russell; *Chatham*, by Greene; *Robert the Bruce*, by Maxwell.

(*g*) HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES, edited by Creighton, published by Longmans; containing lives of *Simon de Montfort*, $1.00; *The Black Prince*, $1.00; *Sir Walter Raleigh*, $1.00; *Oliver Cromwell*, $1.25; *The Duke of Marlborough*, $1.25; *The Duke of Wellington*, $1.25.

(*h*) ENGLISH MEN OF ACTION, published by Macmillan, each $0.75: lives of *Clive*, by Wilson; *Cook*, by Besant; *Drake*, by Corbett; *Hastings*, by Lyall; *Havelock*, by Forbes; *Monk*, by Corbett; *Raleigh*, by Stebbing; *Strafford*, by Traill; *Warwick*, by Oman; *Rodney*, by Hannay; *Wellington*, by Hooper; *Montrose*, by Morris; *Wolfe*, by Bradley; *Nelson*, by Laughton; *Gordon*, by Butler.

(*i*) INTERNATIONAL STATESMEN SERIES, edited by Sanders, published by W. H. Allen, each about $0.75: *Beaconsfield*, by Kebbel;

Bolingbroke, by Hassall; *Palmerston*, by Sanders; *Peel*, by Montague; *Fox*, by Wakeman; *O'Connell*, by Hamilton.

(*j*) TWELVE ENGLISH STATESMEN, published by Macmillan, each $0.75: *William the Conqueror*, by Freeman; *Henry II*, by Mrs. Green; *Edward I*, by Tout; *Henry VII*, by Gairdner; *Cardinal Wolsey*, by Creighton; *Elizabeth*, by Beesly; *Oliver Cromwell*, by Harrison, *William III*, by Traill; *Walpole*, by Morley; *Chatham*, by Morley; *Pitt*, by Rosebery; *Peel*, by Thursfield.

(*k*) ENGLISH WORTHIES, edited by Andrew Long, published by Appleton, each $0.75: *Marlborough*, by Saintsbury; *Shaftesbury*, by Traill; *Blake*, by Hannay; *Raleigh*, by Gosse; *Canning*, by Hill; *Claverhouse*, by Morris.

(*l*) WORLD'S BENEFACTORS, published by Revell, at $0.75: *John Knox*, by Smith.

(*m*) PRIME MINISTERS OF QUEEN VICTORIA, edited by Reid, published by Harper, each $1.00: *Beaconsfield*, by Froude; *Melbourne*, by Dunckley; *Peel*, by McCarthy; *Palmerston*, by the Marquis of Lorne; *Gladstone*, by Russell; *Salisbury*, by Traill; *Derby*, by Saintsbury; *Aberdeen*, by Stanmore; *Russell*, by Reid.

(*n*) RULERS OF INDIA, edited by Hunter, published by Macmillan, each $0.60: *Lord Clive*, by Malleson; *Dupleix*, by Malleson; *Hastings*, by Trotter; *Wellesley*, by Hutton; *Dalhousie*, by Hunter; *Lord Lawrence*, by Atchinson; *Mayo*, by Hunter.

(*o*) ENGLISH POLITICAL LEADERS SERIES: *Pitt*, by Sergeant (1882).

(*p*) VICTORIAN ERA SERIES, each $1.25: *John Bright*, by Vince; *The Anglican Revival*, by Overton; *The Rise of Democracy*, by Rose; *English National Education*, by Holman; *Earl of Beaconsfield*, by Gorst; *The Free Trade Movement and its Results*, by Armitage-Smith; *Growth and Administration of the British Colonies*, by Greswell.

The volumes in the various series mentioned are generally excellent, though inevitably uneven in merit and of varying degrees of adaptability to student needs: (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), and (*f*) are uniformly good; (*e*) is excellent, but the volumes are sometimes unnecessarily dry and concise; (*h*) can in the main be cordially recommended as containing biographies simply and graphically written; (*g*), (*i*), (*j*), are more advanced, in the order named, (*j*) being designed for readers who have already acquired considerable knowledge of the subjects in question; (*k*) contains three good biographies, of Shaftesbury, Blake, and Canning; (*m*) is useful, because brief biographies of recent statesmen are not easy to obtain. The books in (*n*) are without exception of a high order of merit; that in (*o*) is fair; (*p*) contains some works of a different character from those in the other sections, and is exceptionally useful on that account.

III. LISTS OF WORKS OF FICTION.

For lists of works of fiction, prose, and poetry, illustrating English history, the teacher is referred to the following: —

ALLEN (W. F.), *The Reader's Guide to English History*, pp. 13–33. Ginn, 1882 $0.25

This small paper-covered pamphlet contains well-selected lists of books up to the date of publication, arranged in parallel columns with genealogical tables and historical works running chronologically.

BOWEN (H. COURTHOPE), *A Descriptive Catalogue of Historical Novels and Tales, for the Use of School Libraries and Teachers of History.* Scribner, 1882 $0.75

For practical use, this work, otherwise excellent, is marred by the failure of the editor to discriminate or to criticise.

LARNED, *History of England*, pp. 642–647. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901 $1.00

Mr. Larned has printed here a brief but useful list of the best novels, arranged by periods.

NIELDS (J.), *A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales.* Putnams, 3d ed., 1904 $1.75

This is an excellent work and contains well-selected lists of novels published before 1904.

BAKER, *A Guide to the Best Fiction.* Swan Sonnenschein, 1903 . $2.25

This is the most elaborate work thus far published. The arrangement is made by authors and not by countries, so that the novels dealing with the British Empire will not be found in any one place. Pages 1 to 254 contain the works of English, Scottish, and colonial writers which deal, in the main, with British history.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Romans in Britain	55 B.C.–410
Angles, Saxons, and Jutes in Britain	449–600
St. Columba at Iona	563
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